THE CONSPIRACY TO REARM GERMANY – Pages 1-4

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THE INSIDE STORY

Johnson and the Germans

By Tabitha Petran

OF all the applicants who waited in the President's anteroom when he was about to appoint a new Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson was clearly an odds-on favorite.

He was a ruler of the Elks, a Mason, an Episcopalian, an ex-National Commander of the American Legion, a corporation lawyer, 6 foot 2, strapping, bald and 58. And he had raised $1,500,000 for the Truman campaign.

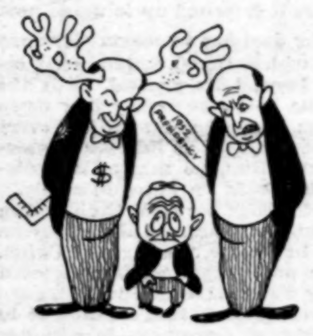
Those were his obvious assets. He had one obvious defect: he was Presidential timber, and the President, reports said, was in no mood to hire one who might take over in '52.

While the President weighed the job applicant's points, he had to consider factors more subtle than Johnson's bulk and weightier than political rivalries. Johnson had a business record that could make him valuable as a Truman man.

MISSION TO BERLIN: Last week Johnson was showing off his talents in their most appropriate setting—Germany. His mission was the revival of German capital and he brought to it a wealth of experience and devotion.

Louis Johnson owes much of his power and money to relations with the Schroeder banking interests.

Schroeder, an Anglo-German-U. S. financial group, was the banker for German heavy industry, particularly the Steel Trust, and Hitler's chief financial supporter. Its London firm was a financial agent for the British government, a power in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., and the financial agent in London for Germany. Its New York branch, J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp., established in 1923 when U. S. and British capital began the large-scale financing of German heavy industry, prospered as agent for German cartels, including I. G. Farben. (The N. Y. Schroder uses the German spelling, but without the umlaut over the "o.")



WINGS OF GOLD: In 1937 Schroeders of London—already involved in rearming Hitler Germany—decided to go into the U. S. aviation business, so it could coin profits from both U. S. and German rearmament. They put up $1,200,000 to buy 300,000 shares—the controlling interest—of the Cord Corp. and its subsidiaries: the Aviation Corp., the New York Shipbuilding Co., and the Checker Cab Co.

Front man for the deal was U. S. financier Victor Emanuel. Cord Corp. was renamed Aviation and Transportation Corp. (ATCO). Through subsidiaries, the Schroeders controlled Vultee and Stinson—divisions of the Aviation Manufacturing Corp.

The London Schroeders demanded quick returns in the form of government aircraft contracts from Emanuel, whom they installed as ATCO management. But the Schroeder-controlled firms were peanuts compared to leading U. S. aircraft companies, and 1938 yielded slim pickings. By December, 1938, the temper of the London Schroeders reached a boiling point. Through their New York representatives, they delivered a virtual ultimatum: Emanuel must produce "real business" for Stinson and Vultee or they would get "really nasty and the brooms will start to sweep." (These and subsequent quotes are from memoranda passing between Schroeder interests in N. Y. and London.

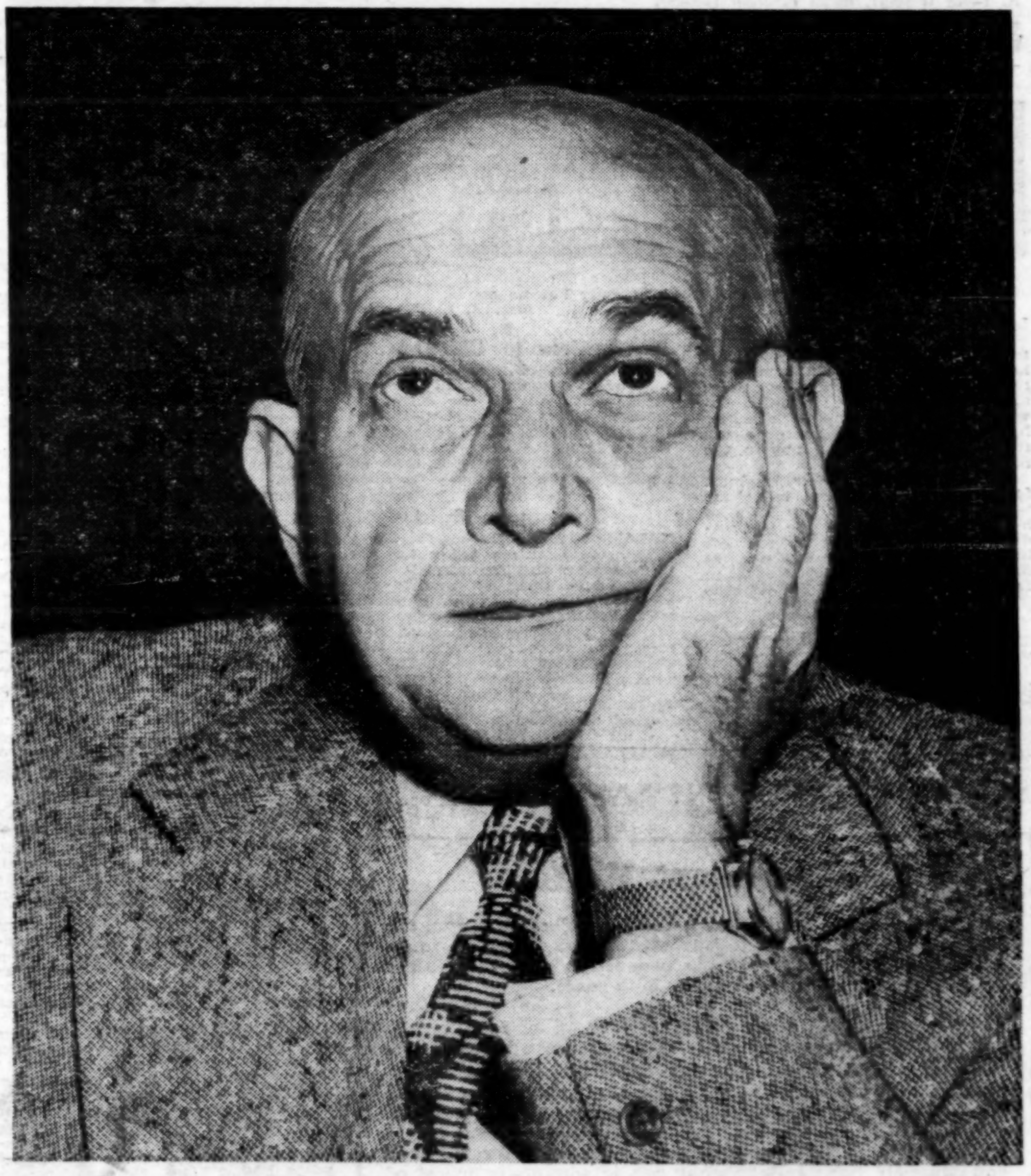
London Schroeders agreed, however, to give Emanuel four or five months in which to prove himself.

But a month later they complained that all they were getting from their U. S. aviation holdings was what Baron Bruno Schroeder (head of the London firm until he died in 1940) liked to call "zukunft Musik" ("music of the future"). They speculated on the possibilities of appreciation of this "music" on the stock exchange and threatened to pull out entirely if something tangible didn't turn up.

IN LOUIS WE TRUST: But on Feb. 9, 1939, a director of the New York Schroder interests reassured the London firm. He wrote of the Emanuel management:

". . . I certainly hope that they have as good an 'in' with Assistant Secretary of War Johnson as they seem to have because if they do, he will certainly find a means of giving them some share of the armament orders. There is still no evidence that they are entitled to any orders, with the possible exception of the Lycoming 300 h.p. trainer

(Continued on Page 12)



Secretary of Defense Johnson

Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven.
—John Milton, *Paradise Lost*

HENRY WALLACE

U.S. and U.S.S.R.— The path to peace

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COAST TO COAST

America's running out of water

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THE MAILBAG

Zilly's no bookseller

LONDON, ENGLAND

Thank you for your article on my pamphlet and book. Some guy has sent me a dollar bill and the request that I send him my book and pamphlet. I have done so but with a letter telling him I sincerely hope nobody else is going to ask for the books as I am not in the book business.

I am grateful for your "A buck for Zilly." If anybody takes me up on it here, I shall say it is an honour and proof that the left understands how to talk to the left in comradeship and confidence, as Mr. Bevin said at Blackpool in 1945.

K. Zilliacus

●

Cuss words

FALLOW, NEV.

We like your paper as far as news is concerned, but I would like to criticize some of your language. For instance, is it so necessary to print the exact swear word as used in reporting on CIO convention? Such as: Curran rose to answer. He said he wanted Bridges "to keep his g— d— nose out of our union." Personally I'm no prude.

Mrs. A. L. Robinson

●

Letters to Chicago

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I wrote letters to all the so-called gentlemen who helped in the violence against innocent people in Chicago on Oct. 12. I copied the names from the story in the Nov. 21 GUARDIAN. I suggest that all readers do the same.

S. Aben

●

Those who fight

KALAMAZOO, MICH.

The best fighters today for the underdog are the Communists. You cannot buy them off and if you kick those people out of the unions, why the union is all done, washed up, for you have lost your best men. I'm one of the millions now unemployed, past 73 and getting my weekly benefits and social insurance.

Ches. M. Cassell

●

The other fellow's yard

PORTLAND, ORE.

I recently asked President Truman what we would think if the U. S. S. R. was behaving in our part of the world as we are behaving in their part of the world. Suppose they had a mighty air base near our border such as Standard Oil Company operates in Saudi-Arabia. Wouldn't we be angered and display a spirit of opposition? The paradoxical aspect lies in the fact that we are waving the olive branch in one hand and an atom bomb in the other.

C. K. C.

●

Faith rewarded

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I was pleased to see that Cedric Belfrage is the editor of your paper. Some nine years ago I read his South of God (A Faith to Free the People) and thought it was one of the most beautiful books I have ever read. Subsequently I made it my business to meet Claude Williams and was not at all disappointed.

Martin A. Watkins

●

Christianity's role

DANVILLE, OHIO

How right is Jennings Perry in the issue of Nov. 14. I've been zealous in religion all my life but my eyes are opening to see the failure of Christianity to stop war and its failure in being effective against many other evils.

Laurence E. Drew

●

Farm Bureau fraud

MADISON, WIS.

The Wisconsin State Convention of the Farm Bureau was dominated by the usual parade of top leaders, a couple of intellectual soothsayers from the University agricultural department, and the political spellbinders who have achieved or aspire to achieve political recognition. They painted a lurid picture of Big Government and warned the farmers that to accept subsidies is virtually asking to be taken prisoner of predatory and evil gremlins with socialistic intent.

Obviously the convention deliberations were a continuation of the attack on the consumer's pocketbook and the family sized farmer by the same coalition that consistently opposed progressive farm legislation in the 81st Congress. Many farmers as well as wage earners are aware of the conspiracy being spearheaded by the National Farm Bureau, the National Grange, and powerful business groups to impoverish them.

Whether or not they can or will rally enough strength to keep several million farm families from being dispossessed depends on their courage and their willingness to carry the facts to their neighbors and fellow workers.

M. H. Shipman

●

Salem reborn

BURBANK, CALIF.

The suit for slander by Larry Adler and Paul Draper against Mrs. John T. McCullough of Greenwich, Conn. (now widely publicized by radio), goes far back in American history for precedent.

It seems that the lady, by every means in her power, tried to prevent the two men from earning a livelihood by use of their respective arts in which each is distinguished: the one as a musician, the other a dancer.

And why? Because in her opinion both had thoughts she considered erroneous, even dangerous!

Now at the time of the Salem witchcraft trials, when the mere accusation of dealings with Satan was enough to put any harmless old woman in peril of her life before the special tribunal Massachusetts had set up, the neighboring state of New Hampshire was calm. Sometimes a terrified old soul fled into the state for safety since Salem was just across its border.

There was talk, of course. But the New Hampshire governor, Samuel Allen, would set up no special tribunal, said the existing courts were fully competent to deal with any infractions of law. And he instructed any person accused of witchcraft promptly to enter a counter suit for slander.

There were no trials for witchcraft in New Hampshire. Small wonder Alger Hiss sought to have his trial in the calmer climate of northern New England!

Frances Duncan

●

The Strong review

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I was very happy to read the review of The Chinese Conquer China by Anna Louise Strong, and to note that it was untainted by prejudice or recriminations.

The Los Angeles chapter of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justive last September presented Miss Strong in a public lecture that was well attended and well received, her subject: "Russia, China, and the Peace of the World."

As a result of that lecture, and also the talks I had with her in private, I am convinced that there is no reason to believe that she has "gone back on" the progressive movement, or that she is a "traitor" or even "anti-Soviet."

Robert Shillaker, chairman

'I Support Peace'

The following is an open letter from Thomas Mann, the distinguished author, to a journalist friend commenting on his recent trip to Germany in connection with the Goethe celebration. Mr. Mann traveled in both zones.

By Thomas Mann

I REFUSE to deny that there is a difference between the communist attitude to humanity and the absolute infamy of fascism; I refuse to take part in the hysteria of a witch-hunt or war mania, and I support peace . . . You talk a great deal about the political liberties and civil rights granted in Western Germany; but you seem to forget, what you yourself have noted, what use is commonly made of these gifts there. They are used impudently. The authoritarian people's state has its gruesome side. It does, however, achieve one thing: it shuts the mouth of stupidity and impudence.

It was not in the Eastern Zone that I received filthy and insulting letters, and read idiotic gutter-articles such as occurred in the West; and not only as isolated incidents. Is this simply due to the "threat of the concentration camp," or to an effort of popular education which goes deeper than in the West, and which respects an intellectual life such as mine? I heard and read much of the concern of Eastern Zone leaders to explain my life's work to the people, and especially the young, and to make them familiar with it . . . this is true. Very early, even in 1945, Weimar organized lectures about my books, especially the Goethe novel, "Lotte in Weimar," and outstanding Communist historians of literature have published profound analyses of them. I am no "fellow traveller." But it seems that intelligent Communists are fellow travellers of mine.

I have looked into faces which showed intensive good will and pure idealism; faces of men and women who worked 18 hours a day, and sacrificed themselves in order to turn what they believe to be truth into a reality Their aim is to create, as far as they can, social conditions which will make a relapse into war and barbarism impossible. From a purely human point of view, it is hard to resist this. One must stay away from such experiences, if one is to hate it wholeheartedly, and if one is to appeal against it with all the old zest, in the name of ideals which have so frequently been made the cover for vested interest.

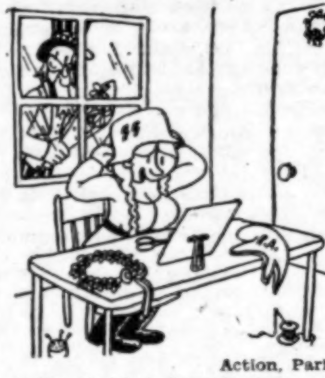
Editorial: U. S. and Germany

Will Himmler's dream come true?

AS this number of the GUARDIAN appears, it is not quite five years since the battle began in which the U. S. Army lost more lives than in any other engagement it ever fought. The 90,000 young Americans killed and wounded in the Battle of the Bulge were the last major instalment in the price exacted of the U. S. for victory over fascism.

Memories as long as five years have gone out of fashion in respectable American quarters. But many nobodies in this land have not forgotten how gladly their kind offered all to total mobilization against something then publicly —and rightly—depicted as the utmost imaginable evil.

TODAY we are ready to rearm that same monstrously evil thing which was defeated in battle; indeed, while the President and Defense Secretary make formal denials in an attempt to keep France in line, it is clear to any child examining the evidence that the rearming of the Nazi monster is already proceeding.



Action, Paris

"With this hat, I won't stay an old maid very long."

The Army brass in Washington is making no secret of its need for a German army "to fill out the Atlantic Pact." When Nazi chief butcher Heinrich Himmler, who organized the systematic torture and mass extermination of millions, was captured in April, 1945, he asked to be taken to the U.S. Chief of Staff to propose an alliance for joint U. S.-German war against Russia. After less than five years we are acting on his proposal.

Those who effectively make policy for America—the kings of big business with their cartel arrangements for ever more and more plunder—were ready then to revive German military-economic power as partner in another effort to smash socialism. They knew America would not agree then—but hope they have it softened up to agree now.

LET it be well understood: the decision to rearm Germany is not an expedient into which the U. S. has been reluctantly dragged by events beyond its control. It is the logical, inevitable result of the cold-war policy laid down in the Truman Doctrine—the policy under which every move toward socialism anywhere is seen as Russian aggression, and every opponent of socialism, no matter how disgusting to the American tradition, is an automatic ally.

Essentially, there is no difference between the decision to rearm Germany and the costly military aid already given to undemocratic governments in Greece, Turkey and China. It is part of the same foreign policy that Wallace exposed over three years ago, warning where it would lead.

As Max Werner points out on p. 4, that fulfilment to which it has led—the rearming of Germany—is a policy of total futility from the coldly practical standpoint of fighting and defeating the Russians.

Our financiers helped rearm Germany once before: the bodies of American boys in the snow in Dec., 1945, were part of the interest on their investment; and now, even more certainly, we can only reap catastrophe. But it is by this act that the total, criminal bankruptcy of the Truman Administration and its so-called "Fair Deal" is exposed.

IF this is not an issue on which American progressives can rally and mobilize against the falseface liberals of the "Fair Deal," then there never will be such an issue.

Now, for example, we can all measure the "lesser evil" represented by Herbert Lehman in his Senate race against John Foster Dulles. Although the plan to rearm Germany was obviously far advanced during the campaign, Lehman took no position on it.

Furthermore, the so-called "liberals" who backed Lehman made no attempt to exact from him a stand against Truman's policy. Why? Because the "liberals"—more obsessed than tories by the "red menace"—are and have been themselves taking a leading part in the ditching of agreements reached at Potsdam to dismantle German war facories.

THE Truman "Fair Deal" has been working all along for a rearmed Germany—for the anti-Soviet alliance proposed by Himmler in 1945. Whether they worked actively for it or not, the "liberals" are in bed with that policy. That is where "liberals" must end up when they become infected with red-herring madness—the notion that, because everything in socialist Russia is not exactly as they would like, all is secondary to fighting Russia.

Now that the "Fair Deal" stands exposed in its final nakedness, no progressive or liberal with clear vision can fail to know who is the enemy. The issues are here at the door. The American fight for peace is a fight against the whole Truman foreign policy and to force the Fair Deal to carry out its campaign promises for abundance at home.

Let those who are concerned about the shortcomings of the Soviet Union go there and fix them up. We will stay and fight the enemy in America.

The Editors

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE WORLD

U.S. brass flies to rearm Germany as the French and British fret

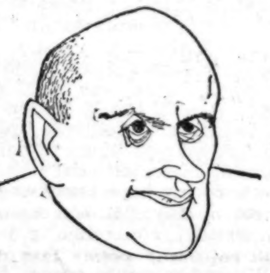
Our aim as expressed by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman was to break up the financial and industrial power concentrated in the giant Nazi monopolies or cartels, which had plotted the war and financed and supplied it.—Thomas L. Stokes, Scripps-Howard correspondent.

It is important to recognize that renazification has left Bavaria largely in the hands of those who controlled it under Hitler.—Official U. S. report as quoted in the N. Y. **Times.**

Forty-three per cent of U.S. voters believe Western Germany will fight on the side of the U.S.—Gallup Poll.

UNITED STATES diplomats and brass hats last week seemed bent on hastening realization of Gallup's alliance.

Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson and Gen. Omar Bradley, en route to Atlantic Pact conferences in Paris, flew straight to Frankfurt to confer with John J. McCloy, U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. It was the first stop in Johnson's European tour.



JOHN J. McCLOY
Louie wants to see you

"I don't know how he [Johnson] appears to Navy admirals," wrote the **Christian Science Monitor's** London correspondent, "but to Europeans he looks like the American military-aid program in a business suit—suave, ingratiating, businesslike, and slightly truculent at all once."

ELBE OR RHINE? Despite U.S. denials of German rearmament plans, U.S. correspondents in Paris cabled that high on the agenda of the convening military chiefs of the Atlantic Pact nations was the question whether Europe should be defended on a line based on the Elbe (which runs through Germany) or on the Rhine (Germany's western border).

The brass hats were also to decide on the allocation of one billion dollars of U.S. military aid, and whether Western Germany should contribute a share of its budget to European defense. "The North Atlantic Pact countries like Britain and France," reported the N. Y. **Times**, "are spending a huge percentage of their budgets on continental defense plans." France particularly feels, the **Times** added, that the West German state has "an unfair competitive advantage in trade and economic recovery" because "it does not have to budget for European defense."

France in the shadow

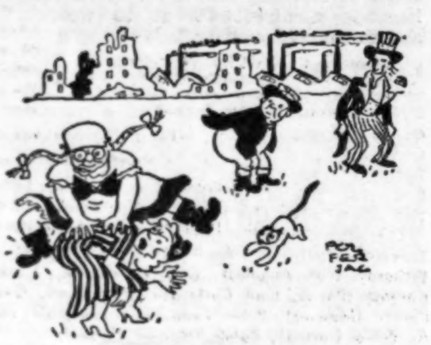
In France, U.S. denials of German rearmament were received with broad skepticism. The realization that the U.S. was determined to rearm Germany made Frenchmen extremely unhappy. "In seeking a German policy that France can accept," the N. Y. **Times** admitted, the U.S. faces the opposition of half the voters of France.

After a 24-hour debate, the French General Assembly approved the Big Three pact with West Germany by a vote of 327 to 249. But Foreign Minister Robert Schuman had to give assurances that "the three foreign ministers never envisaged such an eventuality" [as German rearmament]. GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow reported from Paris:

"Schuman's words seemed no more than words. One by one the sprinkling of deputies present in the old Bourbon Palace rose and uncomfortably embarrassed the Foreign Minister with questions that couldn't be answered. After 12 hours of talk—with breaks for food—progressive Pierre Cot got up and absent Assembly members poured in to hear him. He said: 'When you vote later, I merely ask that you love France more than you detest the Soviet Union.' But when the voting came, deputies dutifully voted their party line."

Goulasch a la George

In England, people with inconveniently long memories were asking: "What's cooking in Buckingham Palace?" George VI and his queen had invited the President of the French Republic and Madame Auriol "to spend a few days with them" at the Palace next March. There were memories of a similar incident in 1938, when some circles in France were reluctant to follow Premier Chamberlain's efforts to direct Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union via Czechoslovakia. The position of leading appeasers like Foreign Minister Bonnet and Premier Daladier was greatly strengthened when they received an invitation to London, which included a dinner and overnight stay at the Palace with the Windsors.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

INNOCENT GAMES

TRADE CUT-THROATS: Leading British papers joined the Arm-Germany campaign. But British trade unionists were worried. GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported that the government had warned the engineering industry to expect a considerable increase in West German export competition during the next few years.

One trade union leader told Schaffer that workers in German engineering shops earn half the rate paid for comparable work in Britain.

"At present," he said, "most German-manufactured machinery is being used to re-equip the home market, but very soon these goods which are in direct competition with British products will be placed on the world market.

"Wages in Germany are the lowest in Europe, with the possible exception of Spain and Italy. German industrialists are taking advantage of this fact to pile up high profits as a means of accumulating capital resources for the further development of German industry which, in turn, will mean even more intense competition."

Another labor leader pointed out: "The British trade union movement, and indeed the trade union movements of every industrial country, must realize that Western Germany today with her low wages, her high unemployment

(Continued on following page)

Read it and weep

How the U.S. is recreating the Frankenstein monster

1944

Aug. 10—Nazi leaders and big businessmen meet to plan course of action in case Germany is defeated; decide to enlist support of U.S. big business to save Germany, prepare day of revenge.

1945

April 4—Drew Pearson reports "certain groups already formed in State Dept. and British Foreign Office to start reconstruction of Germany as bastion against eastern bloc."

April 25—In "Fuehrer bunker" in besieged Berlin, Armaments Minister Speer begs Hitler to "plan for the future," banking on disagreement between victors to give Germany new chance.

July 10—Sen. Harley Kilgore (D-W. Va.) reports: "German industrialists hope with confidence to be saved by powerful English and American friends who were their associates in the cartels before the war."

Aug. 2—Truman, Stalin and Attlee agree at Postdam to four-power control, complete demilitarization and destruction of "excessive concentration of economic power characterized particularly by cartels . . . and other forms of monopoly."

Sept.—U.S. Gen. Draper, director of Dillon, Read which helped finance Hitler's rise and now in charge of German decartelization, endorses Hoover report which calls German heavy industry indispensable to Europe.

1946

Oct. 1—Released by International Military Tribunal over protest of Soviet judges, Nazi financial wizard Hjalmar Schacht says: "If you want to indict industrialists who helped Germany rearm, you will have to indict your own too."

1947

April 3—Despite protest strike by 70,000 Berlin trade unionists, von Witzleben, Nazi head of the great Siemens works, is reinstated with two assistants who devised most efficient ways of exterminating foreign slave workers at Siemens. Other Nazis back on job: Hugenberg, Poensgen and Dinkelbach, steel; Pferdmenges and Abs, banking; Schmidt, iron and coal; Vits, textiles. British have appointed a German to head Ruhr industries.

Sept. 16—Sumner Welles accuses Truman Administration of violating Potsdam by raising steel production, which enabled Hitler to rearm in three years.

Nov. 21—German steel production raised from 5,800,000 to 11,500,000 tons per year. Final rejection of Soviet plea to carry out Potsdam agreement.

1948

Mar. 30—Gen. Clay asks U.S. government to speed the rebuilding of Germany as a weapon against spread of communism.

July 26—Agreement on a separate West German state, which Britain's Robertson and America's Clay said in April-May 1947 there was "no question" of creating.

July 28—Of 23 I. G. Farben chiefs who were directly responsible for death of three people every minute for three years, 13 get minor sentences, 10 are acquitted by U.S. court.

Aug. 30—British "Socialist" government vetoes law, passed by Rhine-Westphalia Diet in their zone, to socialize Ruhr mines.

Sept. 11—U.S. government prohibits demonstration, in their zone of Berlin, to commemorate victims of fascism.

Nov. 13—Edwin Hartrich, N. Y. **Herald Tribune** correspondent, cites evidence that denazification is "a farce." 85% of former Nazis in German civil service are back at their jobs in Bavaria (U.S. Zone).

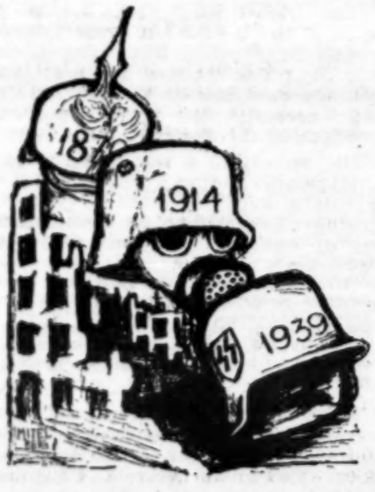
1949

Mar. 20—Appointment of 12 Germans, all big industrialists under Hitler, to administer the Ruhr. Bevin and U.S. Ambassador Douglas discuss stopping factory dismantling altogether. Report by Humphrey mission, including U.S. industrialists with big interests in Germany, proposes steel production increase to 14,000,000 tons with potential of 17,000,000.

Aug. 12—U.S. High Commissioner McCloy calls rebirth of German nationalism "not altogether unhealthy." Thomas Mann, revisiting Germany, says U.S. is favoring fascists to use them as shock troops against spread of communism.

Sept. 8—Bodies of 2,000 Nazi victims dug up at Dachau, used as fertilizer. U.S. commander W. A. Rubin says: "I could not do anything to stop the work."

Sept. 20—Acheson, Bevin and Schuman agree to stop dismantling and admit new West German regime into western Europe. Not one of the Potsdam agreements has been realized.



Action, Paris

Oct. 21—Two days after getting $15,500,000,000 appropriation, U.S. Defense Dept. says it lacks funds to publish record of Nuremberg war crime trials.

Nov. 16—N. Y. **Times** reports staff officers of five nations are discussing German rearmament and formation of five divisions. British have formed German Civil Labor Organization with 40,000 war veterans and reserve of 160,000 Germans, 200,000 DP's, under Lt. Gen. von Natzmer. Three military organizations of veterans with uniforms, insignia and weapons (German Guard, Black Guard, Industrial Police) functioning in U.S. Zone.

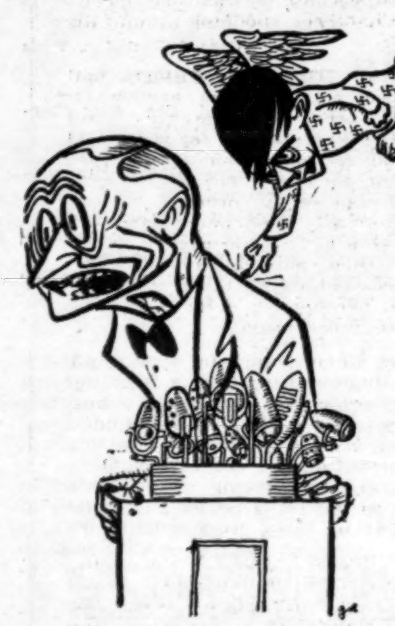
Nov. [illegible] ident Truman denies U.S. v [illegible] Germany.

(Continued from preceding page)

level and her lack of program for workers' housing and other social services, is a direct threat to workers' standards everywhere."

BEVIN'S FOLLY: This point of view, said Schaffer, is shared by most British trade union leaders and a number of employers. But the question of Germany is so tied up with government foreign policy that the union leaders are not prepared to come out into the open with their criticism.

Germany is the most spectacular of Bevin's failures, for he assured the House of Commons early in his career as Foreign Secretary that he would not allow Ruhr industry to go back into the hands of the men who built up the Nazis.



"Don't forget to credit me."

UNCLOSABLE GAP: GUARDIAN correspondent Konni Zilliacus, Independent Labor MP, told the House of Commons that the economic foundations of Britain's cold war policy "are crumbling and its military foundations have collapsed. However hard our workers work, they cannot quadruple our exports to the dollar area so as to close the dollar gap in competition with the pauperized economies of Western Europe. The attempt to do so means leaving a free field to German and Japanese competition in Britain's existing markets, while our traders battle vainly against the U.S. tariff wall and perish at the hands of U.S. vested interests and pressure groups—the survivors going down in the next U.S. slump."

Zilliacus recalled that Lenin during World War I said the war would be won not at the front but in the workshop. He predicted that "the cold war will be lost in the workshops of Britain and Europe. The workers will not put up with this sort of thing. They have had enough of it. They want peace."

CHINA

Chiang's capital falls —third in one year

WHEN Dr. T. F. Tsiang, Chiang Kai-shek's spokesman in the United Nations, arose last week to demand condemnation of the new Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union, he stood for a legal fiction. His "government" had already yielded Chungking, its third capital in a year.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky said Tsiang represented only "pettifoggery" and left the discussion. Dmitri Manuilsky, Foreign Minister of the Ukraine, took a rear seat and studiously read **Pravda** through all the talk.

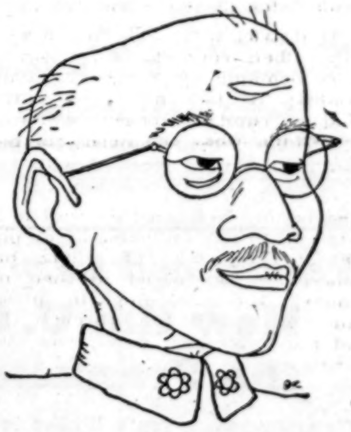
WHAT CAN YOU DO? The U.S. was embarrassed. Its White Paper of last August had admitted that Chiang didn't represent China; but it could not now flatly reject Chiang's anti-communist appeal. It watered the Chiang proposal down to this: All nations should respect the UN Charter in their dealing with China. It was hard for anybody to disagree. The Nationalists and their last-ditch U.S. supporters were irritated.

In Mukden, U.S. Consul General Angus Ward had become a dying issue. U.S. newspapers had revived the fever briefly when Vice-Consul William N. Stokes was escorted to a Chinese court. But he was free seven hours later, having merely been asked to observe an espionage hearing.

SHIPS ARE A NUISANCE: Nationalist warships fired on the U.S. Isbrandtsen Line vessel Sir John Franklin off Shanghai, scoring 12 hits. It was the second time in two weeks that an Isbrandtsen liner flying the U.S. flag had been attacked, but there was little excitement in the press, little official sympathy for the victim tactless enough to be attacked by the wrong Chinese.

Isbrandtsen is a thorn in the side of U.S. policy and the shipping monopolies. His line has defied the Nationalist blockade of Shanghai. The U.S. officially does not recognize the blockade but declines to protect U.S. ships that attempt to run it.

This time Secretary of State Dean Acheson filed his usual soft protest with the Nationalists, then turned his guns on Isbrandtsen. Other shippers, he said, were "cooperating" by staying out of Shanghai.



CHIANG KAI-SHEK
A wand'ring minstrel, he'

Sen. Irving Ives (R-N.Y.) has been a strong Isbrandtsen supporter. When GUARDIAN's John B. Stone called Ives' office for comment, an assistant snapped: "How the hell are they cooperating? In drying up needed sources of business?"

Great moments in Peking

New China's reality was imposing itself on many foreign visitors. Last week the World Federation of Trade Unions ended its first Asian-Australasian Conference at Peking. Goals were the abolition of colonialism and higher living standards.

A French union leader embraced a Viet-Nam delegate and pledged unity in the fight for freedom; a Dutch labor leader promised aid to Indonesian workers. Greetings were sent to Japanese unionists, condemnations to Gen. MacArthur for prohibiting a Japanese delegation from attending. A representative from Iran told of 15,000 people killed, jailed, demanded UN action to end U.S.-British war on Iranian trade unions.

A WOMAN'S VISION: To Peking last week went Mrs. Charlotta Bass, publisher of the Los Angeles, Calif., Negro weekly, **The California Eagle.** She had been chosen by the Congress of American Women to observe the first Conference of the Women of Asia, sponsored by the Women's International Democratic Federation.

An immigration clerk asked Mrs. Bass: "Why do you want to go to China anyway?" "Because I'm interested in peace," was the reply. "Aren't you?"

To reporters Mrs. Bass explained her mission thus: "I want to look in the faces of these women, many of whom were heroines in their own countries during fascist occupation. I want to hear their voices, listen to their problems and compare them with mine. All of us, all the women in the world, want peace."

NIGERIA

Slaves astir

The paradox of domination is not that men prefer the state of masters to that of slaves: it is rather that the masters come to believe, often quite genuinely, that their mastery is beneficial to the slaves . . .

—Dr. Udoh Udoma of Nigeria

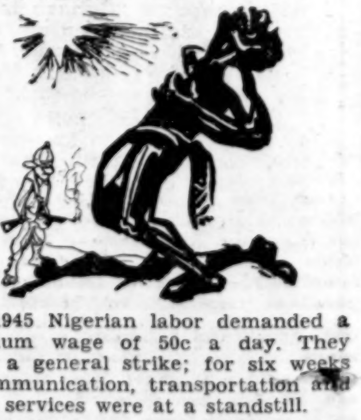
TALKING of their burden, believing their mastery beneficial, British masters have extracted from Nigeria the riches of its mines and plantations. Largest colony in the Empire, Nigeria, West Africa, is the most intensively exploited (cocoa, tin) and presently most valued as a dollar-earner of Britain's African possessions. The most energetic taskmaster in the country is the United Africa Co., part of the Unilever-Lever Bros. syndicate.

Last week there was trouble in Nigeria which, said the **N. Y. Times,** "had begun to disturb political opinion in Britain." It started when miners in the government-operated coal pits at Enugu struck to increase their wages from 20c to 82c a day. Miners occupied the shafts, British controlled police tried to remove equipment. There was a clash. When the police ceased firing, 18 Nigerians were dead, 31 wounded. No police were injured.

SPUR TO FREEDOM: The spark touched off explosive desires for independence in many Nigerians. A union of All African Political and Labor Organizations was formed to support the strikers. Workers in several towns began sympathy strikes. The British governor, Sir John MacPherson, declared martial law, imposed press censorship and a curfew.

In London, uneasy Labor M.P.'s heard the protests of West African leaders; Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech-Jones was not available. The British government appointed a board of inquiry. It contained no union representatives.

WHY THE RESISTANCE: The resistance had a history: When Lever Bros. cut down payments to Nigerians for palm oil in 1920, women's organizations rallied in protest. British troops killed 25 of the women.



In 1945 Nigerian labor demanded a minimum wage of 50c a day. They called a general strike; for six weeks all communication, transportation and public services were at a standstill.

The resistance is founded in a bedrock of imperial destitution. According to independence leader Amanke Okafor, there is only one doctor for every 133,000 people; a total of 10 dentists; high tuberculosis toll but no sanatoria; primary education is given only to 660,000 of its 8,000,000 children.

Max Werner

West German army: 'Soviet police would simply arrest it'

THERE are two main reasons why the U.S.-British "No, but maybe . . ." to German rearmament sounds very much like "Yes, probably . . ." The motives are, first: the military weakness of western Europe, and second: the new, postwar strength of the Soviet Union.

The appeal to a non-existent and unattainable German military power reveals a stunning crisis of western strategy. Suggestions are being made out of anxiety and frustration. As **Newsweek's** report puts it:

> **Western strategists felt that they underestimated Soviet strength, both military and economic. . . . the Soviets have surprised the west by the extent to which they have revitalized their economy and by their technical development of weapons.**

Today reporters of our solid conservative papers are stunned by the military helplessness of our European allies. Thoughtful Harold Callender writes in the New York **Times:**

> **The weakness of the European system for defense is that so far it exists merely on paper, and that even this shadowy existence does not insure more than a token British contribution to continental land forces.**

PUSHOVER: The illusion of West Germany's military power is the most incredible thing witnessed in these crazy post-war years. Some U.S. and British military leaders have an old bible of unshattered confidence in the military superiority of the German soldier and officer. It is a combination of social and professional admiration. But the German military superman is extinct like a dinosaur, and cannot be revived.

A West German army can muster a couple of divisions of unreconstructed SS-men, a scum of the Nazi underground. The advocates of German rearmament will be unable to receive a popular German army, and not even a clean professional army. Militarily, a West German army would be a liability only, on which no allies of it can be congratulated.

Practically nothing could be done by five, seven, or ten German divisions as projected. In World War II, at the peak of the Wehrmacht's strength, five, ten and 20 German divisions were wiped out by the Soviet army in a single operation, within a few days.

In the improbable case of war, a West German army would be not even captured in fighting; it would be simply arrested by the Soviet military police.

MEN AREN'T SAUSAGES: Besides, in this counting of the future German divisions, the human facts are being overlooked completely. Armies cannot be produced like sausages, underwear or cars. One should not think that the German soldiers of yesterday—prisoners in Russia, and the front fighters who were bled white on the desperate retreat from the Caucasus to Berlin—are ready to start all over again.

If France cannot produce military power, then defeated and truncated Western Germany can do it even less. The real reason for the upsetting of the balance of power is the west's outdated schedule. It was expected that the Soviet military modernization with the atom bomb and other super weapons could not be achieved before 1954. But the Soviets did it, and in purely military terms 1954 is now

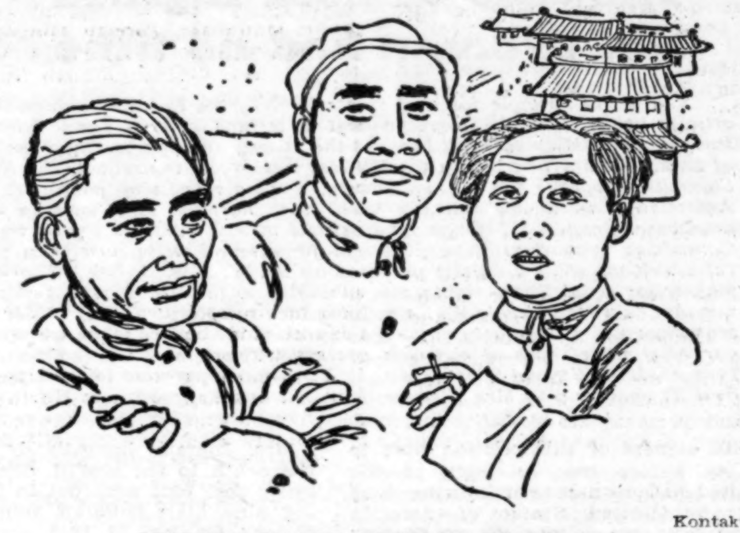
It is not true that western Europe can be defended with the German army. It is true, however, that western Europe cannot be defended without an American mass land army in Europe, and the rest is no more than palaver.

What the New China means to a plain Shanghai working stiff

By Israel Epstein

SPOKESMEN of the Chinese People's Republic say it is "led by the working class." At the same time they often stress that its economic policy must "benefit both labor and capital." Particularly if they are Communists, they add carefully that socialism in China is "a thing of the rather distant future." This may sound contradictory. But Chen Kung-you, skilled worker of Shanghai, understands it because he lives in it.

Chen, a 45-year old machinist, did not pick up a weapon in the 1945-49 civil war till the war reached his city. Then, obeying the call of the All-China Federation of Labor, he was among the workers who massed around Shanghai's big plants just before the Kuomintang collapsed. Chen's group obtained rifles by swapping civilian clothes for them with Chiang Kai-shek troops anxious to desert. With the guns, they drove off Chiang's demolition units ordered to destroy machinery.



Kontakt, Oslo

LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung

IN DEFENSE OF THE FUTURE: Risking his life for machines made sense to Chen because smashed factories meant no jobs and starvation. The peasant revolution, he has learned, broke the feudal and foreign yoke in China. But only industry can really make a new country.

The battle over, Chen was put on a team of workers to transfer a Kuomintang plant to public ownership and operation. Today he not only works at his machine but sits, as union representative, on the plant production council. The plant's problems are many. It must seek materials and devise substitutes to overcome supply shortages caused by blockade. It has been given the job of reconverting from arms production to items needed to lessen the muscle-load of peasant China—plows, irrigation pumps and small prime movers.

HE'S IN THE PAPERS: Chen, who like most Chinese workers grew up in the country, has designed some of these new items himself. The whole country now prizes men of his type, who combine technical skill with bone-deep knowledge of the needs of a still rural land.

Although such a possibility never occurred to Chen before, the inventions have got his name in the newspapers, in fat type formerly reserved for stories about politicians, bankers and murders. In the old days, a worker's name got into the papers for only three reasons: if he was hauled into police court; if secret service men arrested him for "subversive" activity or shot him like the Shanghai Power Co.'s Wang Hsiao-ho; or if he sold out to become a Kuomintang "labor leader" for display purposes.

At district-wide trade union meetings, Chen counsels going slow on wage demands against private industrialists. He tells his fellow workers that no capitalist powers will easily sell China what she needs for basic construction. He argues that native industrialists should be given a chance.

A LITTLE ELBOW: Not mincing words, he says they are "exploiters of labor" too, but that they are also necessary allies and participants in the foundation-laying job today. Now that the state owns the old giant Kuomintang monopoly enterprises and workers and peasants manage the state, Chen says, lesser businessmen can neither decide policy, resist union demands nor rule over labor.

You ask Chen whether he really believes his class is now on top. He replies patiently by citing facts:

- What type of students can enter administrative and technical schools with all expenses paid and their families supported in the meantime? Workers sent by their unions, of whom 4,000 have already graduated as engineers and officials in Manchuria.
- What areas get priority for new schools? Working class districts and peasant villages.
- For whose benefit is the wage system now based on commodities and protected, in an ironclad way, against currency fluctuation? Certainly not for the employers or money-jugglers.

To make you see this, Chen tells a little of his past. A year ago, despite his possession of the skills China needs above all else, he was unemployed, and had to peddle cigarettes at street corners to eat at all. He slept in doorways during mild weather, not only to save rent for the "bed space" which had been his excuse for a home but also because a Nazi-like blockwarden had been snooping around his quarters.

SHE HAD TO EAT: Things had never been so bad earlier, even when he had been an apprentice and worked 14 hours a day for kicks and the meagrest keep, even in the previous long unemployment of the 1930's. At that time, which he does not like even to recall, Chen had thought of marrying a girl textile worker. When both of them were laid off, the plan collapsed. Later, Chen learned, hunger and her family's debts forced the girl into prostitution.

Today Chen Kung-you has a job better than he ever held, plus social position, which he never had before. Chen walks with head high. Chen's wage is not high, but it is secure. He is determined, at last, to found a family and is looking for a wife among women workers who now get equal pay for equal work with men.

IT WAS DONE BEFORE: Unemployment no longer frightens Chen. It still exists, to be sure, but his union has pledged support to a production and reconstruction drive designed to end it throughout China in five years.

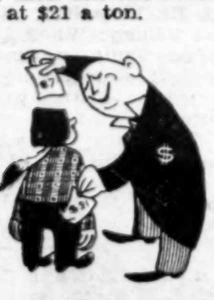
If the primarily peasant people of China have pushed open the doors out of the past, only he, the worker, can lead them along the modern road beyond.

CANADA

The rape of the ore

NOT far from Lake Superior in Ontario, beneath the bed of another lake in Canada, lies a vast deposit of high-grade iron ore. It was found in 1938 by Canadian Julian Cross. Other Canadians followed, drained the lake, diverted a river and laid open the rich ore of Steep Rock. It can produce 4,000,000 tons a year.

U.S. financiers put down $10,000,000 and in effect took it all away. They pay $7 a ton for the ore, ship it to U.S. steel mills, then sell the finished steel to Canada at $21 a ton.



Last week in nearby Fort William, laborite Alvin Johnson was winding up his campaign for alderman, with elections set for Dec. 5. His campaign sounded like a call for Canadian independence from U.S. empire-builders.

OH, FREEDOM! Johnson's main demand was for a Canadian steel mill near enough to Steep Rock to use its ore. Canada has other large deposits in Michipoten near Saulte Ste. Marie, in Newfoundland and Labrador, but it has few steel mills. Canadian steel could make Canadian industry free from U.S. steel.

Empire has its eye on other commodities besides iron. Farther west in Alberta and British Columbia an oil pipeline is being laid. Canadians have clamored for an outlet in their own country. But according to present plans the oil will run through their land and come out in Superior, Wisconsin.

SUSPECT: In Quebec City Father Gerard Dion, professor of social science at Catholic Laval University, told a gathering of industrialists that U.S. capital investments had resulted in "cheap exploitation of Canadian labor."

Short-tempered, dictatorial Premier Maurice Duplessis, who had ardently wooed U.S. dollars, snapped in comment: "When Quebec has anything to say, its government will say it . . . At this time there is no place for these allegedly new ideologies and theories which are erroneously attributed to the Church's doctrine."

PANAMA

Don't annoy the police

LAST month Panama's President Daniel Chanis made a serious mistake: he accused his police chief, Col. Jose Remon, of running several illegal monopolies, and demanded his resignation. This is what happened then:

Col. Remon's police surrounded the presidential palace, forced Chanis to resign. Remon appointed his cousin Roberto Chiari as President.

Chanis stuck to his guns, got support from the Supreme Court and the National Assembly. Chiari resigned.

Chanis tried a comeback, found that Remon had already appointed Arnulfo Arias in his place. From his refuge in the Canal Zone's Hotel Rivoli, Chanis still claims the presidency.

ARNULFO ARIAS
Who's a pal of whom?

DIZZY? The National Assembly whirled like a merry-go-round. It voted to accept Arias one moment, in the next voted to adopt the minutes of a previous session in which it had accepted Chanis.

The U.S. State Dept. was on a merry-go-round too. It had recognized each Panamanian president in turn, unfazed by irregularities. It drew the line at Arias, saying it would consult with other American republics "when political developments in Panama are more fully clarified."

Arias was pro-Axis during the war, but similar records have not disqualified other American rulers from U.S. recognition. In other years, though, Arias has opposed the spread of U.S. military bases in Panama and that record might have gone against him.

UNITED NATIONS

Hot air on peace

BY a vote of 53 to 5, the UN General Assembly last week adopted a joint U.S.-British resolution on the "essentials of peace." The Western plan calls on all nations to give "free access" to UN bodies and to cooperate with them. On the same day, Britain's Hector McNeil announced that Britain would refuse to give the UN any information on political conditions in her colonies.

The delegates turned down a Soviet proposal for a big-five peace pact. Yugoslavia abstained in both votes.

During the debate both McNeil and Sava M. Kosanovic of Yugoslavia belabored the Russians with the latest bulletin of the Cominform, which calls upon all Communists to work for the overthrow of Marshal Tito. McNeil called it "more like a war manifesto than a peace manifesto." Kosanovic said the move "does not mean—even for Mr. Vishinsky—the preservation of peace."

ASSORTED PLOTS: The Cominform blast coincided with the opening of a spy trial against 12 Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia. Before the trial opened, the presiding judge said one of the defendants had hanged himself that morning in his cell. In Bulgaria, the trial of former Deputy Premier and Communist Party leader Traicho Kostov and others was about to start. Kostov was accused of plotting with Tito to overthrow the Bulgarian government.

You couldn't give a better Christmas or New Year's gift this year than NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

THE NATION

Some victories for the people

ON so many fronts progressives had been fighting with their backs to the wall or slowly retreating. Last week they won.

In New York State the Legislature had overwhelmingly passed the Feinberg Law, designed to drive out of the schools any teacher who might be tagged with the elastic red label. The machinery was set up. Superiors were to investigate those under them up and down the line. Every teacher was to act as agent and informer or be suspect.

The Communist Party and the Teachers Union, in separate suits, had taken the matter to the courts. Last week Justice Harry E. Schirick of the State Supreme Court permanently enjoined the Board of Education from carrying the law into effect.

JUSTICE HARRY SCHIRICK
Freedom rang out

He made two points:

- The law presumed that Communists advocated overthrow of the government by force and violence.
- It would punish individuals without trial, on the charge of membership in proscribed organizations.

DILEMMA: The press took comfort from the fact that Justice Schirick inveighed against international communism. Editorials asked in effect: how can we accomplish these unconstitutional objectives constitutionally?

While they pondered the riddle, the state's attorneys prepared to appeal the case. In New York State the Supreme Court, despite its name, is the lowest court. The case is to bypass the Appellate Division and go directly to the state's highest court, the Court of Appeals.

RECONSIDER: The victory in New York was not the only one.

Miss Elizabeth Whiteside, a Negro, was traveling from St. Louis to her home in Paducah, Ky. When the bus crossed the Kentucky border she was forced to move to the rear. She sued for $50,000 damages. The company, as in all such cases, claimed it was bound by state laws. She lost.

But last week a Federal Court in Cincinnati heard her case, ruled that local laws were no excuse and ordered a retrial and "reappraisal of the scope of the 14th amendment."

WE'VE DONE IT BEFORE: The victories of the week recalled earlier gains. In New Jersey, progressives had challenged and killed the part of the Tumulty-Mehorter law that required non-communist oaths from political candidates.

And last summer when Maryland threatened to slip over the borders of reaction into outright fascism under the Ober Law, the people joined in wide and vigorous protest. Then came the decision of Judge Joseph Sherbow ruling that law unconstitutional.

Last week Marylanders were moving to defend their victory. At Annapolis the State Court of Appeals was to listen this Tuesday to the state's attorney appealing from Judge Sherbow's decision.

The precedent-setting decisions of Justices Sherbow and Schirick would be before the judges, and in their ears the mighty chorus of protest which mingles the voices of Americans for Democratic Action and the Communist Party; CIO and IWO; the Benevolent Order of Elks and the Progressive Party; the Friends Meeting Society and many, many more.

The Negro in America

The case of Rosa Ingram: Mr. Truman had no time

The world struggle for civil rights for Negroes is dramatized in the two articles below. Our UN correspondent tells how, after a heroic three-year struggle, Rev. Michael Scott brought the misery and oppression of the people of South West Africa before the UN last week—and the sequel. The National Committee to Free the Ingram Family, seeking redress of grievances for an American farm widow unjustly jailed with her two sons, won no hearing anywhere. President Truman ignored delegations; petitions signed by 55,000 Committee supporters were filed and forgotten. Finally a written petition (of which we print a digest) prepared by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, historian and fighter for equal Negro rights, was submitted to the UN Human Rights Commission. Said Mrs. Maude W. Katz, Committee secretary: "Out of 30 UN representatives visited, the only ones who expressed annoyance when we presented our brief were those of our own country." The Committee (address: Hotel Theresa, 125th St. and Seventh Av., N. Y.) urges supporters to write to President Truman and to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Trygve Lie at UN.

THE signers of this petition wish to lay before the Assembly of the United Nations a case of injustice done by the United States of America against its own citizens. We are begging you to give it earnest thought and discussion not because we are disloyal to this nation, but especially because we are citizens of this land and loyal to the freedom and democracy which it professes.

In the state of Georgia, the following incidents occurred in 1947: a colored mother of 14 children, 12 of whom are living, lost her husband, Jackson Ingram, a sharecropper. With her children she tried to carry on the tilling of her farm, rented from C. M. Dillinger, a white man. There were no fences provided between her farm and that of her white neighbor, John Stratford. On Nov. 4, Stratford called the woman, cursed her and told her to drive off her strayed mules and pigs.

As she entered his lot to drive them back he met her, armed with a shotgun, and began to pound her over the head with it. She begged him to stop and seized the gun. He kept beating her, until the blood ran, with a knife which he tried unsuccessfuly to open. Her two little sons, 13 and 12, stood by crying and pleading, until at last a third son, 16, ran from the house, seized the gun, struck Stratford over the head with it, and Stratford died.

Mrs. Ingram immediately reported the death to the sheriff. She and her two oldest sons were put in jail, leaving nine little children alone in the cottage. On Jan. 26, 1948, she and her two sons were tried by a jury on which no Negro sat, and sentenced to be hanged for murder. Her landlord seized all her stock, tools and growing crops. Colored people rallied to her defense and on April 5 the same court changed the sentence to life imprisonment. This sentence the three are now serving.

THE VOTELESS POOR: Schley County has 3,000 colored and 2,000 white inhabitants, all native-born and rural. Only 455 votes were cast in the county in 1942; of these only 100 were colored.

The colored people are almost totally disfranchised, hold no political offices of any kind, never serve on juries, and work mostly as sharecroppers on land owned by whites. Of the 750 farms, 600 are worked by tenants. The income of Negroe families is probably less than $100 a year; $4 a year is spent for the schooling of each colored child.

In this case, we submit, every canon of law and decency, much less of justice, has been violated. . . . The federal government has made no move; the governor of Georgia has done nothing. The President of the United States, when approached by a delegation from eight states, would not talk to them. The chief of the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, A. A. Rosen, said: "This sort of thing is in the papers every week. It's shocking to me personally, but it is a matter to be settled internally by the state . . ."

ONE HALF-HOUR: We will not rest with this attempt to conceal injustice and deny the right of petition. We charge that the Human Rights Commission under Eleanor Roosevelt, its chairman, and John Humphreys, its secretary, have consistently and deliberately ignored scientific procedure and just treatment to the hurt and hounded of the world. Instead of receiving complaints and giving them careful investigation and, when facts are ascertained, world publicity, they have buried the complaints, and drowned themselves in a flood of generalities.

The sincere and scientific way to work out a Bill of Rights would be to examine carefully and thoroughly specific instances of injustice and from such basis of proven fact to build up methods of prevention and redress, instead of reverting to the outmoded scholasticism of seeking universal truth and eternal verities.

We affirm that if the General Assembly can and should discuss at length matters affecting the 15,000,000 Jews of the world, the 13,000,000 of Czechoslovakia, the 7,500,000 people of Greece . . . it might find a half-hour to discuss 15,000,000 Negro Americans without disrupting the Charter of the United Nations or affronting the dignity and sovereignty of the United States.

SO LITTLE· It may seem a very little thing for 59 nations of the world to take note of the injustice done a poor colored woman in Georgia when such vast problems confront them. And yet, after all, is it in the end so small a thing to "do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly" in setting this mad world aright? "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit," saith the Lord!

We Americans can send Communists to jail and drive honest citizens to suicide, but can we stand before the world and defend the life imprisonment of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram as an example of the democracy which the United Nations is teaching?

LABOR WEEK

MINERS

John L. dodges ax

JOHN L. LEWIS had a problem. He had promised to lead the miners out on strike on Dec. 1. President Truman, vacationing at Key West, Fla., still had the Taft-Hartley ax handy at his side. With Truman thus armed, the coal operators could stand firm, united and unwilling to bargain on wages, pensions or working conditions.

On Thursday morning the miners walked out on schedule but Lewis announced they would be back at work on Monday. Miners were to work only three days a week and locals were free to bargain with each company separately: The three-day week was to end only when new contracts were signed.

The maneuver had these advantages for the miners:

- Truman could not use Taft-Hartley because the country's welfare was clearly not threatened.
- The companies' united front could be broken by separate agreements.
- Coal stockpiles would be kept at a minimum, weakening the operators' strength in case of a strike, and spreading the work around among as many miners as possible.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Rah, Rah, Air Force!

A CANADIAN was stopped at the border. He told U. S. immigration authorities he was on his way to "a UE convention." As he told the story later: "I could see icicles in their eyes, but when I corrected myself and told them I meant IUE they let me pass right through. It goes to prove that government officials don't really discriminate against unions."

The story was a howler when he told it last week at the founding convention of the International United Electrical Workers, the CIO instrument to raid the expelled UE. But it carried a grim truth. The convention in Philadelphia was showered with bessings from government, company and the Church.

HARRY'S RAIDERS: For the government, President Truman sent an unprecedented message cheering them on their "anti-communist" raids. Speakers included cabinet members and high-placed Democrats. Eleanor Roosevelt sent greetings. James Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO and boss of the new outfit, boasted: "The CIO is not without influence in this country."

Secretary of the Air Force W. Stuart Symington welcomed delegates "as worthy members of the Air Force team." Formerly head of the Emerson Electrical Co., Symington said that all the members of his board of directors would vouch that Carey was a good negotiator. A testimonial from such a source was meant to reassure IUE members.

HEDGED MILITANTS: Companies had favored IUE in messages to workers, though they dared not break contracts with UE. That favor could prove a kiss of death.

At Philadelphia Carey and his lieutenants tried to free themselves of the tag of "company union." They framed a program but their militancy was carefully hedged. They would ask for wage increases, Carey said, but would also "take into account the abi[illegible] to pay of the various companies." William Davis, former chairman of the War Labor Board, told delegates not to get "too hot under the collar about wages."

Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers, spoke for the "new radicalism" of CIO. A week earlier he had

The Negro in Africa

The patience of Rev. Scott: A voice for 330,000 at UN

Guardian UN Correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS

A MIRACLE took place last weekend in the Trusteeship Committee room here, when Rev. Michael Scott was recognized by the Committee to speak for the 330,000 tribesmen of the former League of Nations mandated territory, South West Africa.

South Africa, which wants to annex this territory, has three times rejected General Assembly requests to put it under UN Trusteeship. In 1946 the government of South Africa conducted a referendum in South West Africa. The white settlers knowingly agreed to annexation; the illiterate and destitute tribes did not know what it meant.

REV. MICHAEL SCOTT
Three long years

When they found out, the unhappy people decided to appeal directly to UN. Once annexed, they would be without the right of UN appeal that Trusteeship peoples enjoy—under a government whose racial policy toward its own nationals is so oppressive that, by comparison, most U. S. Negroes live in a paradise.

THE MAN FROM JAIL: It was from Rev. Scott that they learned what their rights were and how they might fight for them. To reach the outside world they needed a courageous and honest man, and he had to be white. Scott, whom they made their spokesman, was a man with a legend in South Africa.

He had come there as a young man from England, and soon found himself fighting with the colored people against the racist policies of their government. He joined the Indian minority in a passive resistance movement, and was jailed. Once released, he began to organize the Africans, and was sentenced for living with natives while being white.

In 1946 he began to worry about the consequences of the South West African referendum. He undertook long journeys in the immense territory, held meetings with tribesmen, explaining what the referendum really meant, telling them of the birth of the United Nations and of a thing called Trusteeship. A petition was drawn and signed by all chiefs. At the final ceremony held at the graves of the Herero tribesmen killed long ago by the Germans, who ruled over them before World War I, Herero chief Hosea led his people in prayer:

"O Lord, help us who roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no home of our own. Give us back a dwelling place."

THE LONG PULL: Scott had no money. The tribesmen sold their cattle to pay for his journey to Lake Success in 1947. He submitted the petition during the Second General Assembly. The South African government tried to stop him, smeared him as a "subversive." When he went back to report to the tribes he was allowed to stay only four hours, and was forbidden to show a UN film, **The People's Charter.**

In 1948 he traveled to Paris for the Third General Assembly. The government delayed his passport and visas in such a way that he reached Paris the night the Trusteeship Committee wound up its work. He had lost the second round.

But he came to New York early this year and worked relentlessly to prepare his case for the Fourth Assembly. In the Trusteeship Committee a violent battle raged for days about granting him a hearing.

UNRULY HAITIAN: The colonial powers sided with South Africa: no individual representing minorities had the right to testify, and it would constitute a "dangerous precedent." A coalition of Latin American, Arab Slavic and Asiatic delegates overcame the imperialists' resistance.

Scott talked for an hour and a half. At the end of his testimony delegates were moved and embarrassed. No one asked questions. But Haitian Stephen Alexis broke out:

"Now I understand why they did not want to allow that man to speak . . . These South African whites still believe in maintaining a race of masters and a race of slaves . . . Are they human? Or maybe zoology can tell me what they are . . . Their behavior reminds me of the slave dealers who oppressed my people in the 18th century . . . but my ancestors awoke and swept them away, and I realize that our race is eternal!"

Thus spoke the black man from Haiti, after hearing the white man from South Africa. But the South African government's delegation, accusing the Committee of "violating the UN Charter" by hearing Scott, announced on Monday they would boycott the rest of the current session.

A resolution again calling on South Africa to put the territory under trusteeship was passed 31 to 11; another, asking the International Court of Justice for a legal opinion, was passed 30 to 7. On the first, the U. S. voted "No"; on the second, abstained. In South Africa, Premier Malan accused UN of "interference mania."

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announced that his union would pass up wages and pensions for the third consecutive round out of regard for "the financial condition of the industry."

The brothers balk

Court injunctions which forbade the seizure of UE treasuries and other assets seemed but small hurdles to Carey. He instructed his delegates not to get "too damn legalistic about the formation of this union." Secretary of Labor Tobin shared the casual approach to judicial decisions and urged them not to "let any tactics deter you."

Delegates had come without credentials. Some were from locals that had voted to stay in UE. None could say how many members they represented. Handpicked as they were, some delegates balked at Carey's steamroller and were promised elections "before September."

The "new radical" look

At the Philadelphia founding convention of the CIO International Electrical Workers, the delegates were regaled with these gems of democratic, militant trade unionism: From CIO President Philip Murray (l): We'll put the left wing unions on trial, but we'll throw them out anyway. From CIO Textile Workers President Emil Rieve (center): Get radical but for heaven's sake don't act like real radicals. From IUE head James B. Carey: The courts are undemocratic; they still allow Communists to appear before them.

THE ATTACK: In the field, government in the person of the House Committee on Un-American Activities moved against UE by summoning officers Julius Emspak and James Matles to appear Dec. 5.

In Orange, N. J., Catholic priests preached from their pulpits that any man who voted for a pro-UE officer was "under pain of committing mortal sin." Still, 1,100 workers took their chances and voted loyal UE men to fill 15 of the 18 posts contested.

In General Motors, Westinghouse and Philco plants company officials withheld checkoff union dues from the UE. UE was to go back into negotiations with GE and Westinghouse last week. Both companies were tough, knowing that IUE was circulating petitions for recognition. GE refused to negotiate.

MARITIME UNION

Who's plotting?

THROUGH the week all had been quiet at National Maritime Union headquarters. New York seamen had held the building securely since the revolt against President Joe Curran, who fired 14 elected officials opposing his "dictatorship." On Thanksgiving night, after the seamen had locked up, 150 Curran supporters—including a number imported from other cities—quietly invaded the building.

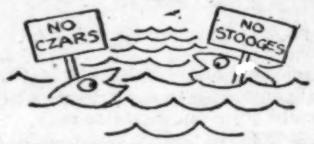
When the anti-Curran seamen re-

by 200 cops. Curran's men waited at the door, asked seamen to sign "anti-communist" pledges to get into the hiring hall. Membership books were taken from those who refused; those who resisted were loaded into a police wagon.

HOW TO LOSE FRIENDS: A delegation protesting police intervention to City Hall was turned away. A committee of the American Civil Liberties Union investigated the use of violence, denounced Curran, demanded the mayor withdraw police and recommended a supervised vote at an NMU membership meeting. It found no evidence of a "communist plot."

While rank-and-filers waited for the courts to act on an injunction suit against Curran's moves to take over the union, they gathered strength. From San Francisco and other ports, from two ships at sea, came resolutions of support.

Jack Lawrenson, NMU vice-president now fighting the administration, warned that Curran will "have to run the union with police aid" because "he will never get an easy moment from the membership."



IMPORTED VICTORY: On Thursday afternoon Curran brought in 1,500 out-of-town supporters in 40 busloads. According to first-hand accounts in Philadelphia, where many of the buses started, the men had been briefed to "see that the voting comes out right" at the membership meeting that night —or else lose their membership books. Up for balloting were Curran's charges against the men he had fired.

In the aisles of the union hall were 150 Curran strong-arm men, side by side with 300 police. The Honest Ballot Assn. was on hand to count the votes, all by show of hand. The HBA could count hands but scarcely assess the intimidation. Curran controls the hiring on ships. Curran refused to conduct a secret ballot. Of 5,500 present, only 2,502 voted: **1,910 to 592** to uphold Curran.

Charles Keith, an anti-Curran leader, told GUARDIAN: "Our fight will go on in the courts and in the union. Curran can't keep importing supporters forever. Curran has to lose because he has no answer for the problems of the membership."

ANTI-WFTU

Weird brethren meet in London

AT home the CIO had lost its taste for pork chops while grooming itself for a political career. It had taken as its own the cause of anti-communism and the Truman Doctrine.

The new movement had to have a foreign policy to match its domestic one. Last week it sent Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, to forge such a policy. He met with other labor statesmen, including the AFL's William Green, in London.

When the CIO and British Trades Union Congress walked out of the World Federation of Trade Unions last spring, they vowed to form a rival organization. The AFL, which had never belonged to the WFTU, went along. Absent from the London conference were representatives of nearly 60,000,000 world workers still in the WFTU. Australia and New Zealand refused to come in. The Indian TUC, French CGT and main Italian organizations were all absent.

STUCK WITH SPLINTERS: The labor statesmen called themselves the Free World Labor Confederation. Gordon Schaffer, GUARDIAN's London correspondent, reported:

"It is difficult to believe that even the sponsors of the conference aren't aware of its unrepresentative charac-

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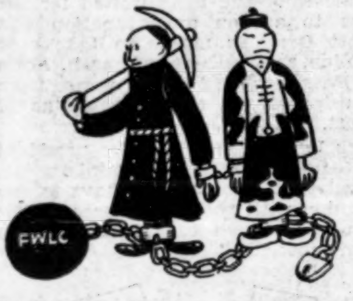
ter. Apart from the British TUC, two U.S. organizations and Scandinavian movements, the rest are either splinter groups or unions from Japan, West Germany and Austria. Biggest joke is the appearance of a Mr. Liang Yung-chang, who claims to represent China."

CATHOLICS AND COLONIES: Catholics were a problem. Many U.S. delegates wanted them because their anti-communism was dependable. But some pointed to France and Italy where Catholics and Communists were walking out together for a living wage.



Statesman Reuther suggested that Catholics be invited in if they would break up their own international within two years. No one knew whether they would join on those terms.

Arthur Deakin, TUC leader, paid a nod to colonial needs. But the strike of Nigerian coal miners (18 of whom had just been killed by British troops) did not appear on the agenda.

Some thought a nod to the colonies was not enough, and made it difficult for the statesmen to confine the talk to communists. A Cyprus labor leader bitterly attacked "British tyranny," capitalism and imperialism. British Guiana's delegate said workers there labored 64 hours a week for $1.52 a day; when they ask for a raise "they are called communists."

"Behind the scenes," Schaffer reported, "there is a row over recognition of Communist China. The British government, remembering many millions invested, intends to recognize in January. U.S. delegates make no secret of their indignation at the British 'flirting with Communists'."

CIVIL LIBERTIES

CHICAGO

No more hush-hush about Peoria Street

A MAN parked his car and started into a house on South Peoria St. A policeman stood on guard, for the presence of eight Negroes at a party in that house had touched off Chicago's savage Peekskill-type riot last month.

The policeman whispered to him: "Why don't you guys get up a petition to get that guy out of here?" The man said: "I'm the guy." Aaron Bindman then entered his house and concluded later that "the police have taken over where the hoodlums left off."

Chicago progressives last week were in full motion to free the city of landlord-incited race hatred and police-abetted hoodlumism. Voting against further efforts to get action out of Mayor Martin H. Kennelly, they held an all-day Conference to End Mob Violence on Nov. 26.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT: GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren reported that the meeting, one of the most effective of its kind ever held, was attended by 100 delegates from 58 church, veteran, Negro, Jewish and civic organizations. Trade unionists came too, from the Steelworkers, Auto Workers and Packinghouse Workers, all CIO. The AFL was represented by a general organizer. The delegates voted to:

- Demand that Frank Rathje, president of the City Bank and Trust Co. and a powerful advocate of restrictive covenants, be fired from the City Planning Commission.
- Press for state investigation of the Garfield Blvd. Improvement Assn., accused of fronting for the landlords in the recent mob assaults.
- Demand impeachment of Mayor Kennelly and removal of police officials who sided with the hoodlums.
- Use wide publicity to smash the "hush-hush" policy of Chicago newspapers on racism.

BUST THE PATTERN: The conference's Police Committee was headed by Earl B. Dickerson, former alderman and Progressive Party candidate for Congress in 1948. "Racist incidents are no longer isolated," he said, "but are part of a pattern set in motion by agencies which want mob violence."

Prof. Curtis MacDougall, directing the Public Relations Committee, said: "Obsession with the 'red' issue by the newspapers and do-good organizations has blinded them to the real nature of increasing hoodlumism and mob-mindedness. Hush-hush must end."

The conference organized permanently with Sidney Williams, Urban League official, as chairman. The three vice-chairmen are Russell Lasley, CIO Packinghouse Workers vice-president; Alva Delaney, of the Federation of Negro Women's Clubs; and the Rev. Joseph Evans, pastor of the Metropolitan Community Church.

UNITY IS THE THING: The new group's first offer of cooperation came from a committee of 12 lawyers formed to defend the Peoria St. victims. Its officers include William A. Booker of the Cook County Bar Assn. and Teresa Ehrlich of the Civil Rights Congress. It will sponsor a conference Dec. 12 to coordinate the campaign against Kennelly's policy of doing nothing and police sympathy for racists.

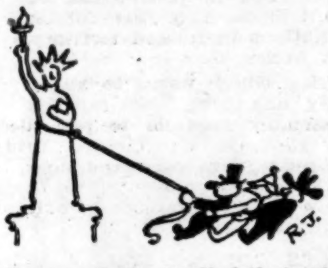
Peoria St. finally reached the City Council with a demand by Alderman Alban Weber for an investigation of police negligence. After a heated debate, Weber withdrew his motion on the promise that the city's Commission on Human Relations would "investigate and report." Then Kennelly said police had been ordered to disperse crowds "gathering for the purpose of harassing citizens."

THE 11 COMMUNISTS

Further bedevilment

LEGAL expenses of the 11 convicted Communist leaders, waiting appeal of their conviction, have already run into scores of thousands of dollars. They had asked permission to travel around the country, explaining the issues raised by their conviction, to raise funds.

U.S. Attorney Irving Saypol had understudied the Communists' prosecutor F. X. McGohey, observed the latter's reward: a federal judgeship. He followed the master's footsteps and called the Communist leaders "as depraved a set of criminals as ever came into a courtroom." Permission to travel was denied.



N. Y. councilmen applied their pitchforks to defeated Communist Councilman Ben Davis. They pushed through a motion expelling him as a "convicted felon" and terminated his salary as of Oct. 14, the day he was convicted at Foley Square. Abstaining Councilman Stanley Isaacs called the expulsion "indecent" and a "disgrace" to the Council, asked for a hearing. Davis was not permitted to speak on his own behalf.

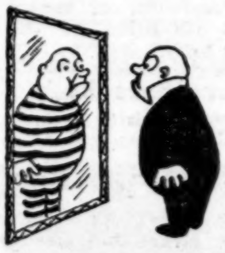
THE TRIALS

J. PARNELL THOMAS

End of the line

IN his heyday as chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, J. Parnell Thomas had led the inquisitions, commanded headlines and batteries of Klieg lights at his hearings, ordered character assassinations at will—all with the dash of one to the witch-hunt born.

Last week the witch-hunters still rode but Thomas had tripped over a broom. He recognized that the government had an airtight legal case against him. Thomas was not charged with all the harm his witch hunts had done. The government had him on a lesser charge, but they had him.



Thomas was accused of padding his congressional payroll with relatives and taking large portions of their salaries for his personal use. For a year he had staved off trial by pleading a weak stomach. When the trial began, there was nothing to strengthen his intestinal fortitude.

THE BRAZEN FACTS: The government's star witness was Helen Campbell, Thomas' former secretary and codefendant. She told how Thomas had put relatives on the payroll and ordered her to turn parts of their pay checks over to him. She cited names and figures. Then the prosecutor started tracing specific checks to Thomas' bank account. The Congressman threw in the sponge and pleaded "no defense."

Thomas' admission of defeat was made "in consideration of health and terrific strain." His sentence was to come Dec. 9. Miss Campbell was freed. The convicted Congressman was expected to resign his seat.

Preceding him to jail this weekend was Andrew J. May, former chairman of the House Military Affairs Committe. He had been convicted July 3, 1947, of agreeing to accept bribes for war contracts.

(Continued on following page)

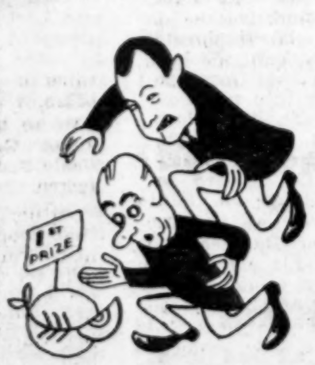
Jennings Perry

The devil take the hindermost

THE way I heard it, Phil Murray has not really changed. The church has not put a bee on him. At bottom he is the same sane, tolerant, dedicated democrat . . .

The way I heard it, what has pushed him into the ill-fitting role of Scourge of the Left was not any threat of the Left to take over the CIO but the threat of Walter Reuther, who feels himself to be the wave of labor's future, to take over Phil Murray's place.

I can see how that could have been. Reuther was going great guns, with plenty of publicity in the New York **Times** and the **Saturday Evening Post,** beating the Reds over the head with one hand and gently squeezing automobile management for pensions with the other. The two things worked well together and added up to success and "respectability" in labor leadership.



THIS was the time when Harry Truman was maneuvering to take the Red Curse off of the Democratic party by the same method. It was the formula of expediency.

You found someone to shout "Red!" at louder than your opposition shouted "Red!" at you, and your opposition, his one thunder stolen, was baffled. The CIO itself had been red-smeared ever since vertical organization began. It was sprightly of Phil Murray to step in and begin to berate his own organization's radical fringe louder than Walter Reuther could.

That is how I heard it and I would not be surprised if that were the way it went. It was a matter, with the wolves closing in, of lightening the sled—and it was easier to toss over the democratic principle than to be a martyr to it. Let Reuther take the dust . . .

IT was not a pretty business and it still is not pretty. It was not a pretty business when, after last year's elections, Murray threw over the National Commitee to Abolish the Poll Tax, up to then stanchly supported by the CIO, because some of the officers of the Committee had supported Henry Wallace. It is not a pretty business now when the CIO peremptorily demands the loyalty oath of institutions like Highlander Folk School for labor leaders in Tennessee, which existed before CIO was born. It is not pretty to see the new holier-than-thou CIO whistling up new, ostentatiously "pure" unions to raid the membership of former CIO unions with all the pious noise of an ideological crusade.

Those of us who remember the bright armor in which the CIO came into the field a few years ago find it hard to recognize the prudish juggernaut. Its young organizers went out to organize the unorganized—and no questions asked, even of the lowliest, save to come in out of the cold. These missionaries preached democracy, and the fledgling CIO unions, damned for "Red" by industrial management and old-line labor groups alike, ruled by debate, brotherhood and the ballot.

IT is hard to recognize a CIO that has become afraid of its own members for political effect.

True, under the mores of the times, this is the path to "respectability"—and possibly to political effectiveness. It is the politics of the main chance, patterned on the politics of the present post-F. D. R. Democratic Party leadership which, to turn the tables on the red-baiting Republicans, plunged the nation into the global cold war. Having traded with Truman for promised joys at home, what should Phil Murray's CIO not sacrifice of its own to avoid embarrassing the political strategy of so clever a President?

What it is sacrificing, I'm afraid, is the simplicity of character which furnished its finest appeal. The CIO was for people, without discrimination; for toleration; for all the rights of speech and choice . . . At bottom, somewhere, the spirit still may flame, but in the new, hard, ruthless, conventional face it is showing the light fades out.

HARRY BRIDGES

Selective memory

ALL last week the central figure in the trial of Harry Bridges was John Schomaker, ex-Communist ex-business agent of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. He was a government witness whose function was to prove that Bridges, Henry Schmidt and James R. Robertson, ILWU leaders, committed perjury in 1945 when they told naturalization officials that Bridges wasn't a Communist.

Schomaker told a well-recollected story. He said he handled Bridges' Communist Party card and dues, carried Communist messages to Bridges, and saw the Communists lead the 1934 waterfront strike.

BRIDGES DID JOB WELL: Vincent Hallinan, the ILWU president's attorney, got Schomaker to admit that waterfront conditions were "lousy" and that Bridges' leadership was good. But Schomaker, a strike leader himself, would not admit that the Waterfront Employers Assn. was behind the violence.

Hallinan showed that Schomaker could easily remember details of 13 years ago but failed to recall conversations of a week ago. At one point he suggested that Schomaker had been coached. Heatedly denying it, the witness admitted he had met Immigration Service officials the night before.

ALGER HISS

Chambers' ghost

AT THE first perjury trial, Alger Hiss was unable to shake Whittaker Chambers' story that all the "pumpkin papers" came from Hiss. Last week, in the second trial, Chambers faltered for the first time on this key question: one of the documents might have been given to him by Harry Dexter White, he said. [White, ex-Treasury aide, died of a heart attack two days after being questioned by the House UnAmerican Activities Committee.]

It was an important point, for it might cast doubt on all of Chambers' account. Later in the week Chambers went back to his first story. But the jury had both stories.

Young Progressives convene

900 delegates work out a fighting program for '50

By John Balkin
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

CLEVELAND, OHIO

JOBS and homes, full educational opportunities, an end to political discrimination against students and teachers, and world peace were the major demands of nearly 900 delegates and visitors to the second National Convention of the Young Progressives of America here last weekend.

Some of the delegates to the second annual YPA convention scanning the proposed resolutions. Dave McCanns of New York, second from left, was elected national co-vice-chairman.

Convention panels and workshops heard and acted upon first-hand reports of the needs and desires of U.S. youth. Young workers representing the nation's major industries described their conditions at the Conference on Jobs and Unemployment Insurance for Youth.

YOUNG GO FIRST: Typical were reports like the one by a young Westinghouse worker who said his plant recently laid off all production employes with less than seven years experience, which hit most of the youth. Others told of mounting unemployment in which the youth were first to suffer.

From the west came a report that of the University of California's 23,000 students only 300 are Negroes: "Not only jimcrow but economic difficulties keep this country's Negroes out of colleges and universities."

A Youth Bill of Rights adopted by the convention calls for an increase in unemployment benefits to $35 a week for 52 weeks covering all unemployed, a national program of public works to provide jobs and security, and a minimum subsistence for students entailing a program of federal scholarships for all young people.

NO MORE WAR: A resolution on peace said: "We want a chance for the first time in history to be able to build a life of security, freedom and happiness for ourselves and our families." A peace program adopted calls on the government to adopt a policy of strengthening and supporting the United Nations, with the administration of economic aid to other countries through the United Nations. It urges the re-establishment of Soviet-American friendship as envisioned by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry Wallace; the establishment of trade with the Chinese People's Republic, and the support of all colonial peoples in their fight for independence.

The convention designated the month of January, 1950, as "Ban the Bomb Month." The anniversary of the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt next April was set for nationwide demonstrations on the theme of "No More War."

NO MORE JIMCROW: Plans were also made for an International Peace Sports Festival to be held next August at which athletes from every country in the world will participate.

The delegates pledged to defend the rights of freedom of speech and thought of all Americans, and took a stand in defense of the rights of the 11 convicted Communist leaders and their trial lawyers. The Young Progressives of America will file a friend of the court brief condemning the Smith Act as unconstitutional.

BRISTLING PROGRAM: Rejecting attacks on their fight for the unity of Negroes and whites, Christians and Jews, the Young Progressives adopted a fighting program to end jimcrow and discrimination by passage and enforcement of national, state and local FEPC laws, a federal anti-lynch bill and an anti-poll tax law.

Seymour Linfield, 32, New York, was re-elected executive director; Christine Walker, 26, Detroit, and David McCanns, 22, New York, were elected as co-chairmen; Lydia D'Fonseca, 21, Oakland, Calif., treasurer. Twenty vice-chairmen will be elected by mail ballot. They will form the National Executive Board.

POLITICS

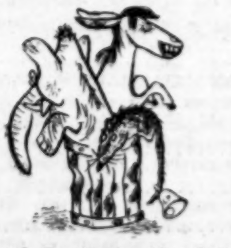
NEW YORK

Garbage cans

VITO MARCANTONIO was the top-priority target for the 1950 elections. In his district Democrats, Republicans and Liberals were preparing to gang up on him. The trouble was that each party wanted one of its own to head the gang.

The Liberal Party proposed to solve the problem for the moment with a joint resolution to unite behind "any acceptable candidate" to achieve "the long overdue retirement of this Kremlin mouthpiece."

Marcantonio commented: "Of all the political scavengers the Liberal Party is it. Its role is to hang around the garbage can of politics picking up whatever scraps it can."



The Liberal Party in the last elections polled 6% of the total vote in Marcantonio's district.

The gang-up was duplicated in many cities. While elections seemed far off to voters, for politicos this was candidate-picking time.

Less for the needy

IN New York City, 300,000 persons on relief faced immediate and urgent uncertainties. They were handed a cut in cash allowances averaging between $3 and $4 for each man, woman and child. Welfare Commissioner Raymond M. Hilliard's post-election "economy" move (accurately predicted and fought by Rep. Vito Marcantonio and the American Labor Party) was attributed to a decline in official price statistics.

At the same time Hilliard divided monthly relief allotments into two payments, thus depriving his "caseload" of enough money at any one moment to buy economically in quantity.

Mayor O'Dwyer and his victorious Democratic slate were on guard against some uncertainties, though. Two days before the relief cut went into effect, they asked for salary increases for themselves totalling $157,000 a year.

Marcantonio asked: "What brand of chiseling is this—to chisel on the poor for the benefit of the well-placed in politics? I just wonder if there is any conscience left in City Hall."

To test that conscience the ALP called for a picket line at City Hall on Tuesday at 2 p.m.

HUMANITIES

This poet: how mad?

DURING the war Ezra Pound, Idaho-born poet, broadcast from Rome reading lists of war dead to U.S. listeners and drawing from them the lesson that capitulation was better than valor.

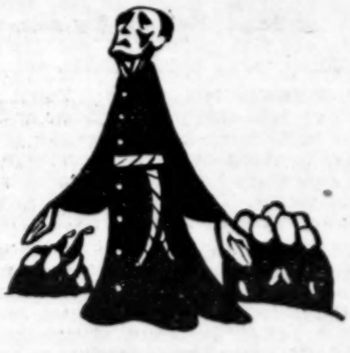
Since the war the U.S. has rewarded him for his poetry and let his fascism go unpunished. Four psychiatrists said he was insane and had him committed to an asylum in Washington. Their report took just three paragraphs.

Dr. Frederic Wertham, expert in criminal psychiatry, was unimpressed with the three paragraphs. The evidence cited, says Wertham in the current **American Journal of Psychotherapy**, would not prove him more insane than other fascists. "We have," Wertham wrote, "let ourselves be deluded into the belief that responsibility is not responsibility, guilt not guilt, and incitement to hate not incitement to violence."

This priest: how bad?

ALL around the village of Punta D'Ella Castella stretches the 8,000-acre estate of Baron Baracco. The baron keeps 6,000 of his acres for a hunting preserve; crops would spoil his sport. In the village live 200 men, the heads of families. All are farmers. Only 20 of them have work. They came to their parish priest, Father Francesco Parise. He listened to them, then led them out to the baron's game preserve where they took nine acres and proceded to till the ground.

Father Parise said: "I am only a simple man. I know the law, I also think I know justice. Sometimes I find it difficult to know which of the two is right. I only know that they are not always the same."



HUMBLE SERVANT: Last week the Father received a summons from his superior. He walked 17 miles to the bishop's palace in Crotone. He stayed half an hour, then walked back to his village. After 42 years in Punta D'Ella Castella, Father Parise was to be transferred.

Father Parise smiles when he is told that people regard him as a Communist. "I'm a humanist," he says. "I can only try to serve God in my own humble way. I don't know what a communist is. They tell me they are bad people. Surely what I have done is not bad. Would He not have done the same?"

Italy's 5,000,000-member left-wing General Confederation of Labor agrees with Father Parise. Interior Minister Mario Scelba in the cabinet of Christian Democrat Alcide de Gasperi does not. Last week, the Confederation called a 24-hour general strike to protest the shooting by Scelba's police of two landless farmers seizing fallow land near Bari. It was the second time within 30 days that the Confederation struck for the same reason.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Tips on basic playthings

Photo from Creative Playthings, N. Y.

Sponge-rubber dolls like these are wired for flexibility. Kids like to act out family situations; such dolls make it easier. They're $5 each—but even one of them will make a child happy.

MANY Christmas toys are mere mechanical novelties which briefly intrigue a child but have little permanent play value. That's why this department now offers a checklist for selecting some of the basic playthings of lasting interest and educational value.

ELASTIC PLASTIC: Modeling clay is a basic material. A new type, called Elastic Plastic, will be welcomed by parents, too, because it's clean and will not stick. It comes in colors. At about $1 a pound, it's more expensive than natural clay, or even oil-base clay in colors, but lasts longer. You'll save by buying the clay and providing your own small jars.

MANIPULATIVE TOYS: These are especially good for children from 18 months to three years; they help teach muscle and finger dexterity. Among the standard types are peg boards, available for $1 or less; nests of blocks like the Pylok set, and the various puzzle posts, and peg benches and mallets, like the Holgate and Playskool brands, and the private brands of large retailers like Sears Roebuck.

CONSTRUCTION BLOCKS: Various sizes and shapes that can be built into different structures are basic for pre-school youngsters. These can be made from either 2 x 4's or lumber one and three-eighths inches thick, preferably of hardwood. Always make two blocks of the same size and shape. Sand them smooth before finishing. Blocks of this type can be bought in sets from educational toy shops. Log sets, notched to build cabins, rails, etc., are also popular. These are as little as $1. For very small children, large hollow blocks are recommended.

HOUSEKEEPING TOYS: You'll do best for a little girl by getting real-size plastic dishes and sets sold in the five-and-tens. Get fairly large ironing boards, brooms, etc., so the child doesn't have to stoop over. Doll carriages or cribs should be big enough so you won't have to buy another in a year or two as the child gets bigger. Toy sewing machines operated by hand crank are available for as little as $2.50, but make sure it works well.

DOLLS: Molded-rubber or sponge-rubber dolls are recommended, especially if they're wired so they can stand or sit. Rubber dolls are more durable than composition, can be bathed without losing their tint and are available for as little as $2 without clothing. You'll always do best making additional clothes yourself. Sometimes the clothes are half the price of a doll.

Dolls with a commercial tie-up, like the new Toni hair-wave dolls, come high. This department believes it's better to put the money in more and larger dolls.

LOOMS: These are available for as little as $1. Don't get too intricate a loom for a very small girl. Simple frame looms are generally easiest to master, and can make square mats, pot holders, etc.

Hootenanny

Lester Rice, a fruit and poultry farmer of Orange County, N. Y., is a man who has branched out in three other directions: as a Farmers Union organizer, an ALP official, and a writer and singer of songs for farmers.

Rice wrote the songs for the Farmers Union in the mid-Hudson valley. He sang them at union affairs, and they became widely known across the country.

Now city dwellers have a chance to hear his songs. Rice will be the featured performer at a Peoples Artists Hootenanny at the Penthouse, 13 Astor Place, on Friday evening, Dec. 9.

Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Betty Sanders and others will also sing. Admission: $1.

Calendar

NEW YORK

Christmas Gift Bazaar, sponsored by ALP, Fri., Dec. 9, 7-11 p.m., Sat., Dec. 10, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., Sun., Dec. 11, 2-10 p.m., 28 Greenwich Av.

One-Man Show by Ralph Fasanella, ALP candidate for City Council, factory worker and organizer, beginning Nov. 28, ACA Gallery, 63 E. 57th St. Daily, except Sunday, 10 am. to 6 p.m. Wed. until 9 p.m.

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CHICAGO

Scott Nearing delivers five lectures, "Four Decades of World History—1910-1950," I.O.G.T. Hall, 1041 Newport Av., 3400 North, Dec. 11-15, 8:15 p.m., under auspices of Swedish Educational League.

Reading & Thinking

$ex won't buy a clear conscience

By Sebastian Barr

MAYBE "you can't cheat an honest man," to quote the sardonic title of a W. C. Fields film. But how often we see honest men trying to cheat themselves, although to the degree they succeed they can no longer be considered honest.

About a year ago, a fellow I know (call him John Doe) started a new picture magazine that has been selling pretty well. Although it is not emblazened on the masthead, its motto is Sex, Sex and More Sex. You know the type.

STORY OF A FAILURE: John's magazine is not yet in the really big circulation class. But it's bringing him about $40,000 a year, and that ain't hay. However, it's not John's success I'm interested in, but his failure, which is typical enough to be called the American tragedy.

John was barely 30 when he was made top editor of a leading picture magazine. He did a good job; circulation climbed. The only trouble was, he had a social conscience. He thought a magazine ought, occasionally, to tell the truth and maybe even try to educate its readers in a small way.

DANGEROUS NOTIONS: One afternoon he got a call from the front office. "Now look here, Doe," the publisher said. "Your job is to give the people what they want, not what you want. The way you're carrying on, they might even get ideas. After this, no more social consciousness in your stories. Either it goes or you go."

John went. He was a good technician and for such, he thought, there was always another job. Only there wasn't.

In the first place, according to the rules of employment in this capitalist society, a man who has held a top job can't afford to take a lesser job; once they get the notion you're slipping, they don't want you. So John had to pretend he was interested only in big-time stuff, though he had a large family and was beginning to feel the pinch.

PROSTITUTION, INC.: And in the second place, word got around that John was a Red, which is a term they use in business circles to describe anybody whose ideas differ from theirs.

And that's how John came, finally, to publish this sex magazine. He's not proud of its success. What he wants, he says, is to make enough money to support a decent magazine that will tell the truth. In other words, the prostitute is to support the decent woman.

It won't work. Nothing fails like success, and I'll lay you dollars to doughnuts that John's next publishing venture will be another prostitute magazine, until eventually he'll be the neurotic owner of a whole chain of bawdy houses plus a guilty conscience.

THE SHAME THAT HURTS: And that will be a shame. It's the shame that afflicts so many of our white-collar professionals who think that bv compromise they can have their cake and eat it, too. The blame may be society's but every time we knuckle under, we give that society our vote of confidence.

Hell is paved with good intentions, but it's still just plain hell, and one can get along better without a pavement than without integrity.

SPICY
SEX MADE EASY

Pots & Pocketbooks

Fruitcake for fun

By Charlotte Parks

"WHAT richness!" said Mr. Squeers as he poured the glasses of skim milk for his pupils and quaffed his own Guinness. Don't bother with the detective stories and "escape literature" in the booklists these days; just read those thrilling magazine ads extolling fruitcakes — rich, dark, mellow, redolent of cognac and the spices of Araby —costing around $2.75 a pound, two for five bucks. Then figure out how much you save making your own and what a reputation as a cook you will acquire.

This recipe is inexpensive, takes no eggs or butter, yet is delicious, and looks it. Has a good texture and will be ideal for Christmas gifts and holiday eating. Reheated, it is almost better than the regulation plum pudding and far less trouble. It is easy to make—almost foolproof.

Guardian fruitcake

1 lb. salt pork (finely ground)
1 pint hot coffee
2 cups sugar
1 cup molasses or jam
1 tbsp. cloves and cinnamon
2 tbsp. cocoa
1 cup chopped nuts
1 lb. chopped mixed dried fruits
1 lb. seedless raisins
1 lb. chopped peel
½ lb. dates
2 tsp. baking soda
1 cup wine or fruit juice
flour to make stiff dough

THE LUCKY METHOD: There is a legend that everyone who takes part in making a fruit cake will have a year's good luck. So get everyone in the family to help prepare the fruits and nuts. It's grand fun, even if they do "sample" a bit. Cut everything very small; if you have time beforehand, make your own candied peel. It's a big money-saver and even better than the bought.

FIRST PROCESS: In a big bowl, pour hot coffee over the ground salt pork, add other ingredients except the flour and soda. Let stand 12 to 24 hours. This distributes the fruit evenly and enhances the flavor.

SECOND PROCESS: Add flour, soda and, if you have it, a cup of wine or half cup of "hard liquor." Line pans with aluminum paper (or waxed, doubled). Coffee tins are fine for baking fruitcake: just the right size for a lovely gift.

Place pans in cold oven with a low flame and bake slowly two to four hours, according to size. When a knitting needle comes out clean, they are ready to cool, wrap in heavy paper and store in a tin container. Ready to eat right away, but time enriches the flavor and they keep splendidly.

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By Henry A. Wallace

The path to peace: a message to the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

THE path to peace is as straight and narrow as the path to salvation. It is a dangerous path, and those who dare tread it will be subject to vilification from all directions.

But there is none other for the fully informed, genuinely sincere person who believes in the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and the ever advancing, creative power found in man and nature.

At the moment the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have polarized all the peoples of this earth into two hostile camps which are drawn up in the continuous battle array of the cold war.

30 YEARS AGO: It all began back in 1919. In the spring of that year, when England, France, Japan and the U.S. had all sent troops to Russia to try to stop the Revolution, Bill Bullitt called on Lenin. Lenin said he was ready to settle for that small part of Russia which the Bolsheviks then controlled.

Bullitt carried the word back, but Churchill said "no." Churchill thought that by force it would be possible to defeat the Bolsheviks completely.

Many of the people high in the Russion government lived through those days when blockade and civil war financed by the allies killed many millions of Russians. One man high in the Politburo today narrowly escaped being shot by the British 30 years ago.

The continuing betrayal by the western world of that which the Russians felt was essential to their security continued right up to Munich in September of 1938.

BRIEF MOMENT: From June of 1941 until May of 1945, there was an interlude. The U.S. and Britain needed Russian help and Russia needed our help.

But even during that period there were some men in the State and War Departments of the U.S. who were thinking about an eventual showdown with Russia. Truman had spoken in June, 1941, about the Russians and Germans killing each other off. Churchill had planned for a second front through the Balkans for the specific purpose of blocking Russia. Incidents of this sort confirmed the attitudes established in 1919 and suggested they would be resumed as soon as the war ended.

The bait and the hook

Using fear of Russia as the bait and economic pressure as the hook, the U.S. did her best from the moment Roosevelt died to organize an anti-Soviet bloc composed of western European nations, the Latins and the Arabs.

The British played the American game because of U.S. economic pressure and because the Russians for generations had threatened her lifeline to the near east and the far east.

The dominantly Catholic Latin nations came along because they have long feared Russia more than they have fascism.

The Arab nations, especially those bordering on Russia or the Mediterranean, were of interest to Britain and the U.S. partly because of their fantastic oil resources and partly because they held the key to protection of British trade routes. The ruling classes in the Arab countries had long been financed by Britain and had no hesitation in joining the anti-Russian coalition.

BOMBS AND BASES: As soon as this line-up in the UN became apparent, Russia knew that she was certain to be out-voted in every balance-of-power conflict and that her only recourse would be the veto.

Hiroshima burst on the world while the UN was still in swaddling clothes. Three days later President Truman underlined the meaning of the atom bomb to world politics by saying in a special message to Congress:

"Bases which our military experts deem to be essential to our protection, and which are not now in our possession, we will acquire."

Thus, quickly the atom-bomb virus entered the body politic and permeated it with the "world power" complex. Seven months went by, and Winston Churchill in the presence of the President promulgated the Iron Curtain and the first approach to the North Atlantic Military Alliance.

Still another year passed and Britain found she couldn't finance her position in the all-important eastern Mediterranean.

OUR NAZI FRIENDS: Out of the bankrupt needs of a decaying empire grew the Truman Doctrine, which stakes out practically the entire non-Slavic world as an American preserve in the same way as the Monroe Doctrine proposed to take Latin America under our protection. From that moment onward we began to support reactionary regimes with money and arms in every part of the world.

Worst of all, we began to handle Germany not from the standpoint of getting rid of Nazism but of preparing for the war against Russia. While Roosevelt was alive we had planned to denazify, decartelize and de-industrialize Germany. The military occupation forces never believed in this and after Roosevelt died, the military view was adopted by the State Department.

The military brought the old Nazi crowd back into power again in industry, education and government. Delbert Clark, correspondent of the New York **Times**, tells the story in his recent book, **Again the Goose Step.**

It was in 1949 that things began to go really wrong with our post-war program of cooperating everywhere with reactionaries. The corrupt regime which we had backed in China at the cost of so many billions went to pieces. The British acknowledged their approaching bankruptcy by devaluing the pound. And then, to cap it all, Russia suddenly took away from us the distinction of being the only nation to have the atom bomb.

The cold war was beginning to mature the fruit which I had predicted.

IF we wish understanding, we must stop calling the Russians "red fascists," "just as bad or even worse than Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy." If this were true, we should get ready to fight and fight soon. We had to fight Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy because both preached and practiced the virtue of war.

Russia, in spite of her enormous land army, is eager for peace because peace will give her the chance to develop her industry and agriculture in her thinly-populated territories.

Moreover, she lost nearly 20,000,000 by war during the past 35 years.

Certainly communism never preaches war for its own sake as did Mussolini and Hitler.

Nazi Germany and to a lesser degree Fascist Italy practiced racism. Both preached the doctrine of a master race. Russia practices racial equality to a greater extent than any other nation in the world.

Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy organized capitalism to serve the elite through the mechanism of a one-party system dedicated to war as the supreme good. Russia placed her emphasis on the common man rather than on the elite. In an economic sense, the Russian government comes largely from the bottom up.

JEFFERSON: RABBLE-ROUSER? These facts are not mine only. They also were set forth by the U.S. Army in 1945 in Fact Sheet 64. The greatest of these facts is that Russia believes war is an evil which must be and can be avoided.

You ask: But what about the teaching of communism that it will inevitably dominate the world? What about the revolutionary sayings of Lenin and Stalin? What about the violence they preach?

I hold no brief for the early sayings of Lenin and Stalin. Personally, I am against violence or rabble-rousing from either the right or left. But we must keep the record straight by remembering that these early sayings were made in times of great provocation when most of the civilized world had joined to suppress a young revolution.

Some of Jefferson's sayings in 1787 would bring him before the Un-American Committee. Even his statements in his first inaugural would probably subject him today to the greatest abuse.

WIN WITH BALLOTS: For my part, I think the American Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the recent Chinese Revolution now just coming to a victorious conclusion conferred great benefits on the underprivileged and the exploited.

I do not think communism is necessary or desirable in the United States today. It was necessary in Russia and China in order to overthrow ancient feudalistic regimes full of corrupt practice. Here in the U.S., as even Karl Marx pointed out, it is possible to bring about change by voting rather than by force. Roosevelt used the ballot to overthrow the Hoover regime and was re-elected three times against the almost solid opposition of the press and big business.

Roosevelt never stood for communism. He was in theory a budget-balancing capitalist all the days of his life. But he recognized what fascism meant when he saw it, and he knew that there would have to be many changes to enable the capitalist system to serve humanity peacefully and abundantly.

What comes next?

The outstanding economic fact in the world today is that the U.S. cannot long remain an island of prosperity all by itself. Nor can she indefinitely finance half the world.

The days of the cold war are drawing to a close and the only question is whether it will be succeeded by hot war, depression or a vigorous approach to peace.

The isolationists are eager to end the cold war because it costs so much. They don't want to wage either cold war or peace. Their methods will plunge us into a depression, a depression worse than 1932.

There is just one road to peaceful prosperity and that is the road of developing the backward areas of the world through the UN, regardless of ideology.

ONE FOR ALL: The UN should have a corps of industrial and agricultural experts who are just as available to Russia as to Latin America or India.

World bank loans should be made just as available to eastern Europe as to France to finance tractors and combines. Yugoslavia should be financed with just as much but no more readiness than Poland.

The new China should be granted a loan to buy cotton, of which we have such a great surplus tied up in the Commodity Credit Corporation warehouses. It is time to put that cotton to work filling human needs. The new China is just as ragged as the old China. This time we should help her with clothing, not arms. We should draw up a complete program of help for the new China operated through the UN. The same goes for India.

CHEAP AT 5 BILLION: Years ago I suggested that the UN should spend five billion dollars a year for 10 years to facilitate international recovery. Most of the money would have to come from the U.S. but it would be vastly more productive and less expensive than our present cold war program.

In a program of world recovery of this sort, it is vital that a staff of world servants be built up which is not exclusively Anglo-Saxon. Special universities or colleges must be established to train personnel. It is essential that the east participate in such universities and that the east should eventually furnish at least one-third of the personnel.

The pamphlet, **Report on International Investment and Financing Facilities,** put out by the FAO last week, gives figures which indicate my estimate of five billion dollars a year was pitiably low rather than high.

The spirit in which President Truman is approaching his so-called "bold, new program" is bound to lead to disaster. According to the UP, the President talking to the American Society for Civil Engineers on November 2 said that his "bold, new program" was meeting with certain difficulties and then went on to say:

"There is a struggle now going on between two ideologies. One is backed by a moral code and the other is backed by no moral code. My ambition is to show that the ideology backed by the moral code can do the best for the people of the world. I am just as sure of that as I stand here."

Words vs. deeds

Here we have declared a Holy War against the infidel. As long as Truman has ideas like this, Russia cannot possibly come to any fundamental understanding with the U.S.

Most of us will agree that a capitalist or modified capitalist system will do best for the U.S. and possibly for western Europe, but to claim that that system is the only one backed by a moral code is sheerest hypocrisy. Anyone who claims morality governs present day diplomacy on either side simply doesn't know what he is talking about.

If President Truman is so keen about serving the world, why doesn't he direct our State Department and Department of Agriculture to support the Food and Agriculture Organization as they try to set up an International Food Clearing House to transfer our surplus farm products to the countries which need them? [On Thanksgiving Day U.S. representatives killed FAO plans for this: see GUARDIAN, Nov. 28.]

MASTER HYPOCRITES: The Commodity Credit Corporation and the U.S. State Department are today trying to throw their weight around by using our wheat and cotton reserves to fight the cold war rather than to serve humanity.

The Administration that can block the humanitarian efforts of the FAO branch of the UN at the precise moment that President Truman proclaims our superior morality stands convicted before the world of the ultimate hypocrisy in international double dealing.

I have long called for a meeting between Truman and Stalin, but I am afraid that both Truman and Stalin will have to do some backing up if the meeting is to be fruitful. Complete intolerance of the other fellow's point of view simply will not produce an agreement.

The path to peace does not lie in this direction. Nor does it lie in the direction of doubling our atom bomb production.

If the Christians of the world are true to the doctrine of their founder, they will demand peace and get it without the slaughter of millions of innocent lives.

If Americans are true to the principles of Jefferson, they will demand peace and get it. No American public interest need be sacrificed.

The article above was excerpted from a speech by Mr. Wallace delivered at the Community Church in Boston Nov. 26.

America is running out of water!

By Lawrence Emery

THE U. S. is running out of water. The country that can make an atom bomb has not yet found a way to solve its problem of adequate water supplies. Scientists have set 1975 (26 years away) as the crisis date unless new sources are found.

Many parts of the country have been in a water crisis for years—much of the Great Plains region, the western states, most of the southwest. But now the shortage is becoming nationwide and many large cities are at the danger point.

SALT IN THE GLASS: The water level of the reservoir serving Louisville has dropped 40 feet; at Indianapolis, 50 feet. In Newark, N. J., which depends on underground supplies, the water level is now 240 feet below the surface; already salt water from Newark Bay is seeping into some wells.

At Tucson, Ariz., the underground water level has dropped to 300 feet below the surface. Both the city and 115,000 acres of irrigated farmland depend on the dwindling supply, which is being used up faster than nature can restore it.

New York City's reservoirs are 60% empty.

San Diego, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Atlantic City and other large cities face the same problem.

EROSION: Part of the trouble goes back to a century-long abuse of the land. Destructive logging denuded watersheds, leaving the soil incapable of holding and storing rainwater. Improper grazing denuded grasslands and croplands. Land clearing, road building, airport construction all help to upset the natural balance between the soil, plant coverage and waterflow conditions.

The result is serious erosion, the increase of silt in streams and reservoirs, fast flood discharges — and water shortage.

PEOPLE WITHOUT STREAMS: Population shifts and industrial expansion in semi-arid regions aggravate the problem. A dramatic example is found in California's rich and fertile Santa Clara Valley. Herbert C. Jones, head of the valley's Water Conservation District, says: "We have seen the greatest migration into a semi-arid area in the history of the world."

In 1910 there were 60,000 people in the valley. Today there are 290,000; 116,000 of these have come since 1940. Many industries have also settled there.

There are no streams in the valley; its water is underground and is tapped by some 3,000 wells. The result: the bottom has literally been pumped out of the valley and the valley floor itself has dropped some five or six feet! In 1910 the water level was 20 feet under the ground; today it is at 120 feet, despite all efforts to conserve by preventing it from draining off into San Francisco Bay.

GONE WITH THE WIND: Without new outside sources, this valley may dry up and wither away. Other regions of California, searching as desperately for new sources, are fighting among themselves. Reclamation Bureau Commissioner Michael Straus has referred to "the teeming battlegrounds of the California water wars."

As precious as blood. The Madera Canal, a small part of California's vast Central Valley Project, carries irrigation water to rich but parched acres in San Joaquin Valley.

But the western water wars cross state lines. For 25 years Colorado, Wyoming and Nebraska have been at each other's throats over disposition of the water of the North Platte River. By a Supreme Court decision, Nebraska now gets 75% of it; the other two divide the rest.

Nebraska sadly needs water, and is working on conservation now against a possible repetition of the catastrophic drought of the '30s in which the soil literally burned up and blew away. On the Great Plains rainfall is low, winds are high, variations in temperature are extreme, and water evaporation is tremendous. In Nebraska, 50% of the state's acres are today in a state of mild or severe erosion.

CRIES OF "ASSASSIN!": A long-standing water war between California and Arizona is currently almost at the shooting stage. Arizona wants, and badly needs, a $708,000,000 water-development project which would tap the Colorado River to bring water to 725,000 parched acres in Arizona and New Mexico, and supply 770,120 kilowatts of electric power. But Californians, who have a "prior appropriations" claim to Colorado River water, jump up and down and scream when anyone puts in a claim. California congressmen have vowed to block this project in Congress.

How tempers stand can be seen from a recent newspaper exchange. Said the Los Angeles **Mirror**: "Arizona wants to swipe our water for the ridiculous Central Arizona Project, which is a $750,000,000 pipe dream cooked up to benefit a couple of hundred Arizona land speculators who own the 264,000 acres which would be benefitted."

To which the Arizona **Times** replied: ". . . All southern Californians are abysmally and inexcusably ignorant, or they are unmitigated liars . . . The editorial is barefaced and unmistakable notice that Los Angeles has abandoned all pretense of truth in all-out effort to grab Arizona's water . . . The assassin's dagger has been unsheathed."

THE WRECKERS: Truth is, both states need the water. Now in its fifth successive year of subnormal rainfall, southern California is surveying the economic and physical possibilities of bringing in water from the Columbia River 1,000 miles away. Los Angeles already goes 250 miles to the Colorado River for water, and by 1951 will be getting some from the Sacramento River valley 500 miles away.

But constantly blocking most public water developments are the big landholders and the powerful private utilities. They have delayed and hindered completion of the vast Central Valley Project and, in the words of Commissioner Straus, have been "perfectly willing to wreck" it for their own advantages. The recent award by the Federal Power Commission of one of the dams in this project to the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. suggests they may yet succeed.

POLICY NEEDED: At present the Bureau of Reclamation of the Dept. of Interior has work under way on 63 projects in western regions, including 35 storage dams, nine power plants, and 200 miles of new canals. But total funds for these amount to only $387,000,000 which, compared to the war budget, is an infinitesimal sum. And still being blocked are both the Columbia Valley Authority and the Missouri Valley Authority, which would go far to solving much of the nation's water needs.

The people and the future need a sound and far-reaching policy of conservation and reclamation, with firm governmental action to curb the greed of big landholders and private utilities. A fraction of the energy and money now spent on the cold war could cure U.S. water ills in a relatively short time.

BRINY SOLUTION: Oscar L. Chapman, new Secretary of the Interior, has a good record during his years with the department, but whether he will wage the necessary battle against the private utilities is to be seen.

However, he has his own long-range solution for the water problem, which he has advocated for years: purification of sea water. He has already asked Congress for $50,000,000 for experimentation and construction of a pilot plant for distillation of water from the ocean.

At present equipment is available which will distill 100,000 gallons of sea water a day at a cost of 55c per 1,000 gallons, which is far too expensive for irrigation and other purposes. But Chapman insists that if distilling plants could be built with 500 times this capacity and 50 times the efficiency, then the U. S. should never have to worry about water again.

Johnson and Germany

(Continued from page 1)

engine . . ."

Whether or not they had an "in," the Schroeders were not disappointed. They soon got orders. While Louis Johnson was Assistant Secretary of War from June, 1937, to July, 1940, he plumped for "a billion dollar aircraft program at a time when others wanted a fraction of that spent," according to a report in the N. Y. Times, April 3, 1949.

UP HE GOES: In June, 1939, Aviation Manufacturing Corp. could announce an expansion of Vultee, Stinson and Lycoming. The same month Stinson got its first big war contract for $1,500,000. Orders for Lycoming and Vultee soon followed. Between January, 1939, and July, 1940, Vultee got $54,000,000 in government contracts. During 1940, the number of Vultee's employees jumped from 848 to 5,400.

Johnson, whose only directorships hitherto were in West Virginia banks, also expanded. In March, 1943, Emanuel appointed Johnson, who had left the War Department, a director of Consolidated Vultee. In April, 1943, through Emanuel's influence, he became a director of I. G. Farben's U. S. subsidiary, General Aniline and Film, and subsequently president at $50,000 a year of a General Aniline subsidiary.

The Schroeder-Emanuel interests continued to prosper after Robert Patterson succeeded Johnson as Assistant Secretary of War in charge of contracts. By 1943 Emanuel had done so well he bought Consolidated Aircraft and formed Consolidated Vultee. The new firm got its first big order for B-36's in 1943 from Patterson.

SHADOW OF THE B-36: Patterson was named a director of the N. Y. Schroder bank when he retired from the War Dept. He admitted before a Congressional Committee last August that he violated regular procedure to order the B-36's. (Johnson's role in the B-36 scandal and in the fight for control of I. G. Farben's U. S. properties was reported in the GUARDIAN, June 6 and Oct. 17, 1949.)

Johnson remained on the boards of Consolidated Vultee and the two I. G. subsidiaries until he was named Secretary of Defense, though other Emanuel men got out in 1947.

As defense chief, Johnson directs the spending of 15 billion dollars a year—a third of the national budget. His power is second only to that of the President, and he now holds a key role in the program to restore German cartels and rearm Germany. In this program persons closely connected with the Schroeders have played a decisive role in almost every phase of U. S. policy-making.

THE 'REVOLT' OF 1944: Allen Dulles, a legal adviser and director of the New York Schroders, guided the 1944 revolt against Hitler from Switzerland where he headed U. S. intelligence. The German Schroeders, through Count Von Moltke, to whom they are related by marriage, and German Admiral Wilhelm Canaris played an important role in this attempt by German big business to dump Hitler and save the German cartel system.

Canaris and Von Moltke were killed. But the Schroeders are back on top in German heavy industry and finance, and Canaris' well-trained staff still labors valiantly to save fascism. Pertinax, French journalist close to the Foreign Office, reports that "the nucleus of a German general staff has come into being" behind the intelligence service they are now operating.

Neruda's new poems

Pablo Neruda, Latin America's great anti-fascist poet, will soon publish Canto General de Chile (Song of Chile). The new volume includes many poems written while Neruda was in hiding in Chile and in exile.

Proceeds of the new book will aid the fight for Latin American democracy. The first 200 copies, illustrated by Mexican artists Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros, will be inscribed to those sending $15 to Miss Maria Asunsolo, Reforma 137-8, Mexico, D. F.

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